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EARTH-HOUSES & THEIR INHABITANTS.¹

THERE is one variety of underground dwellings which, in the northern counties of Scotland if not elsewhere, is more specially indicated by the term "Earth House", or "Eirde House". With regard to this class of structure, an experienced archæologist² makes the following remarks:—

"The whole of these have been formed after one idea, viz., to secure an unobserved entrance, and to preserve a curved shape. From the entrance the first part of these structures is generally a low and narrow passage, growing in width and height from the point where the direction is changed, and terminating in a rounded extremity.

"The part of them last referred to is generally from 5 to 9 feet in width, with a height barely sufficient to permit a man to stand erect. In some cases, however, they have been found to be of much more contracted dimensions throughout. The Eirde house at Migvie, in Cromar, only admits a single person to pass along; while that at Torrich, in Strathdonan, Sutherlandshire, is barely 3 feet in width.

"Dr. Mitchell has described another at Erribol, in that county, which is more like a large drain than anything else.

* * * * *

"These underground houses have occasionally smaller chambers, as offshoots from the main one, which are entered by openings of small size.

"They occur at times singly, and at others in groups. On a moor near Kildrummy, in Aberdeenshire, a group of nearly fifty were discovered.

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"It has been doubted if these houses were ever really used as places of abode, a purpose for which they seem in no degree to be suited.

¹ This article is in continuation of those on "The Finn-Men of Britain" and "British Dwarfs", which appeared in the *Archæological Review* of August, September, and October 1889.

² John Stuart, LL.D., *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, 1st Series, viii, 23 *et seq.*

"But as to this there can be no real doubt. The substances found in many of them have been the accumulated *débris* of food used by man, and indicate his presence as surely as the kindred kitchen-middens which have attracted so much attention, while their occurrence in groups marks the gregarious habits of the early people. The bones of the ox, deer, and other like creatures have been found, as well as the shells of fish, mixed with fatty earth and charred wood. Ornaments of bronze have been found in a few of them, and beads of streaked glass. In some cases the articles found would indicate that the occupation of these houses had come down to comparatively recent times, as in the case of the Irish crannogs, where objects of the rudest times are found alongside of those of the seventeenth century."

These underground passages or galleries are also known as Pechts' or Picts' Houses; and they unquestionably belong to the same family as the other structures so denominated. But they are the rudest and most primitive of all. Between them and a chambered mound such as Maes-how, in Orkney, the difference is great; and still greater is the difference between them and a non-subterranean "broch", such as that of Mousa, in Shetland. Yet all these are so united by intermediate forms that it is difficult to say exactly where the one passes into the other. The nature of the difference may be expressed etymologically by saying that they are *burrows*, *barrows*, and *brochs*, or *burgs*; the "drain"-like Eirde house belonging to the first class, the chambered mound to the second, and the above-ground structure, such as that of Mousa, to the third. The three terms just used are radically one, as the buildings themselves are. But they represent different phases of one idea; and the last phase is very much in advance of the first. Whether the superiority of the one class of building over the other has been caused by the gradual advancement of one homogeneous race, during a long stretch of time, or by the blending of a higher race with a lower, within a limited period, must be regarded as an open question.

But, although that crude form of earth-house which we have described as a burrow, is included among the Pechts' houses of Scotland, it differs in several respects from that variety which has been regarded as the typical "Pecht's house", namely, the chambered mound, or "hollow hillock". One of the salient features of the burrow, the "unobserved entrance", is equally a feature of the hollow mound; and the latter has also the same narrow, low, subterranean passage of approach, formed of rude stone slabs. In each, too, as in the more advanced and elaborate "broch", it is seen that the builders knew of no other kind of arch than that formed

by the gradual convergence of the walls, by means of each course overlapping the course immediately below it, until only a single slab was required to crown the whole by way of "keystone". The better kind of "burrow", with its "smaller chambers, as offshoots from the main one", is also closely akin, in that respect, to the so-called "hollow hill." But, while having all these points of resemblance, the latter differs from the former in that its passage dispenses altogether with the curve which distinguishes the "burrow"; and, greater difference still, in that it is not merely an underground dwelling, but that the earth over it is heaped so high above the level of the adjoining ground that it presents exactly the appearance of a conical or rounded green hillock, when looked at from the outside. Moreover, it is only rendered an "underground" dwelling by the earth-heap imposed upon the original structure, which itself was built upon what was then the surface of the ground. Whereas the long, curved gallery, which has more specially been styled an "earth-house", is below the surface of the surrounding land, and is generally discovered by some ploughman whose plough happens to break or disarrange the stone slabs forming its roof.

There is no special reason for limiting the term "earth-house" to the underground gallery just spoken of, because the chambered mound is also as much an "earth-house". In either case, the structure itself is of stone. Therefore, we need not here restrict the term "earth-house" to one of these two varieties, but apply it equally to both. Each variety is popularly known as a "Pecht's house", and the one is as much an "earth-house" as the other.

The "hollow hill", however, will be the variety of earth-dwelling chiefly considered in this paper. But, before leaving the ruder structure, reference may be made to a Shetland specimen, examined in 1865. It is described as "of a semi-circular form, 2 feet or so beneath the arable land, about 30 feet in length, 3 feet in breadth and height, widening out at the western extremity to the form of a chamber of 5 feet square; ponderous slabs of mica-slate form the lintels. These stones have been transported from Norwick, which is the nearest depot for such, and distant two miles." Like other similar structures this was locally known as a "Fairy Ha'."¹

Thus, the two varieties of earth-house, each known popularly as a "Pecht's house", are also both remembered as the dwelling-place of fairies. For the chambered mound is equally a "Fairy Knowe"; in Gaelic, a "sheean" (*sithean*), or abode of fairies.

¹ *Memoirs of Anthropological Society of London*, vol. ii, 1865-6, p. 343.

And as the "little people" of Scotland have been chiefly chronicled as "Pechts", or "Picts", we may further consider them in that twofold character; continuing also to regard them in the territories which have already been most frequently named. Of these, none are less worthy of examination than the districts—insulated or otherwise—in the neighbourhood of the Pecht-land Firth.

"By an authentic record of Thomas, Bishop of the Orkneys, dated 1443, and published in Wallace's *Orkneys*, edit. 1700; when the Norwegians conquered these islands they found them possessed 'by two nations, the Pets [Pehts, or Pechts] and Papas'¹ (*i.e.*, popes or priests). The "popes" referred to are understood to have been the Irish missionaries from Iona, and of them there seems to be no distinct tradition surviving. But the other "nation" is well remembered in both of the Northern groups. "The first folks that ever were in our isles were the Picts," says Shetlandic folklore; "they were very small [people]."

What appears to be a popular tradition relating to the time when the territory of the mound-dwelling Pechts was beginning to be invaded and settled by colonists of another race, is furnished us by Sir Walter Scott. The ballad of "Alice Brand", in *The Lady of the Lake*, speaks of a "moody Elfin King, who won'd² within the hill". And we are told in the *Appendix* that this legend "is founded upon a very curious Danish Ballad, which occurs in the *Kæmpe Viser*, a collection of heroic songs first published in 1591." It begins "*Der ligger en vold i Vester Haf*", which is rendered in English, "There lies a wold in Wester Haf." Scott says: "As *Wester Haf* . . . means the *West Sea*, in opposition to the Baltic or *East Sea*, Mr. Jamieson inclines to be of opinion that the scene . . . is laid in one of the Orkney, or Hebrides Islands." Both in this old ballad, and in Scott's adaptation, there is an element of the magical, or impossible, or, at least, unexplainable kind; but some of the leading facts are these:—A "husband", or yeoman, goes to this "wold in Wester Haf", taking his wife and all his belongings with him, and there he proceeds to settle down as a colonist. Like many other "backwoodsmen", he begins by felling the trees of the forest³ for his new home, much to the indignation of the dwarfs

¹ Knox's *Topography*, etc., Edin., 1831, p. 211, note.

² Dwelt (cf. Dutch *wonen*, Germ. *wohnen*).

³ This feature does not accord with the appearance of modern Orkney or the Hebrides, but both groups were once thickly wooded. Buchanan refers to various Hebridean islands as being "*darkened* with wood" in the sixteenth century.

who inhabit a certain "knock" (Gael. *cnoc*), or chambered mound, in that district, and who, indeed, are the owners of the soil.

"He hew'd him kipples,¹ he hew'd him bawks,²
Wi' mickle moil and haste,
Syne speer'd the Elf i' the knock that bade,
'Wha's hacking here sae fast?'"³

The dwarfs are discomfited in their attempt to enter the "husband's" house, but finally one of them succeeds:—

"The huswife she was a canny wife,
She set the Elf at the board;
She set before him baith ale and meat,
Wi' mony a weel-waled⁴ word.

"'Hear thou, Gudeman o' Villenshaw,⁵
What now I say to thee;
Wha bade thee bigg⁶ within our bounds,
Without the leave o' me?

"'But, an' thou in our bounds will bigg,
And bide, as well as may be,
Then thou thy dearest huswife maun
To me for a lemman gie.'"

However, the husband is not even temporarily bereft of his wife; and, indeed, after all the threatenings of the "how-folk", the settlers are allowed to remain quietly in possession of their home-
stead, and their daughter is afterwards married to the dwarf visitor.⁷

Though this song is from a Danish collection, there is another of very similar nature in Unst, Shetland. It begins "Der lived a king into da aste", and it recounts how a certain "wedded wife" was carried off by "the King o' Ferrie". Her husband afterwards goes in search of her; and "one day, in his wandering quest, he sees a company passing along a hillside, and he recognises among them his lost lady." They go into "a great 'ha'-house', or castle", which is said to be *on* the hillside; but as nothing is visible but "a grey stane", after they have entered, it would seem that *the hill itself* was the castle, and the grey stone the entrance door, as in the

¹ Couples.

² Balks (cross-beams).

³ From Jamieson's Scotch version, as given by Scott.

⁴ Well-chosen.

⁵ The dwarf is here addressing the settler by the name of his new session.

⁶ Build.

⁷ It ought to be added that he is only an "elf" by adoption; but this does not affect the general situation. He bears all the outward characteristics of the dwarfs.

case of the Orcadian Maes-how, or many another residence of the "how-folk". This assumption is quite borne out by the song itself. The same writer¹ indicates that such abductions were quite common in Shetland, when she states that a "witch" who married a dwarf, returned once to her mother's house, and, while imparting to her various other counsels and warnings, "gave many instructions how to provide against the enchantments used by Trows for the purpose of decoying unsuspecting girls into their unhallowed domain." And her parting injunction was to be sure and have the maidens "weel cöst-about" (? protected by charms) "when the grey women-stealers are wandering". But instances of such intercourse between the dwarf races and others, the abduction being by no means confined to one side, could be quoted almost interminably.

The celebrated "how" known as Maes-how, in Orkney, has just been referred to. It is so admirable a specimen of the "Pecht's house" proper that no better selection can be made for a more particular description of such a dwelling. "It stands about a mile to the north-east of the great stone ring of Stennis. Its external appearance is that of a truncated conical mound of earth, about 300 feet in circumference at the base and 36 feet high, surrounded by a trench 40 feet wide. Nothing was known of its internal structure till the year 1861, when it was opened by Mr. Farrer, M.P., but the common tradition of the country represented it as the abode of a goblin, who was named 'the Hogboy', though no one knew why."² In Lincolnshire, this term "hog-boy" is pronounced as "shag-boy".³ The word pronounced *shag* in one place and *hog* in another, is understood to be the same as *haug* or *how*; and the term is therefore a variant of the plural "how-folk". It was one of those "shag-

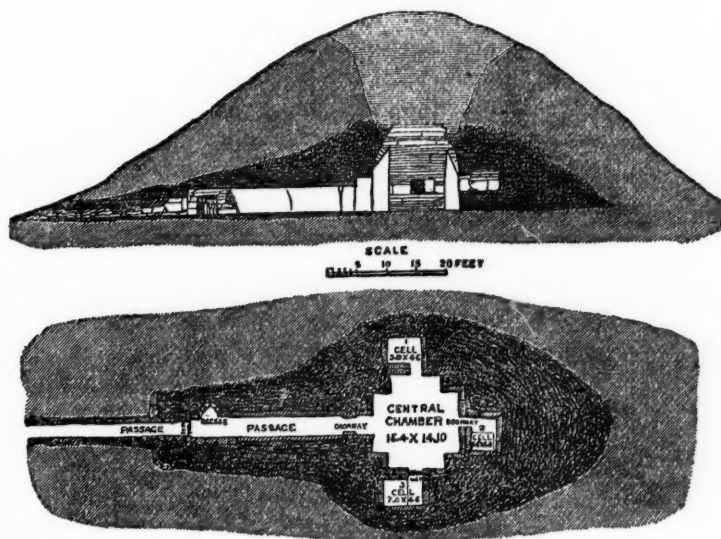
¹ Mrs. Jessie E. Saxby, *Folklore from Unst, Shetland (Leisure Hour, 1880)*.

² Dr. Joseph Anderson, in his *Introduction to the Orkneyinga Saga*, p. ci.

³ In an article ("From the Heart of the Wolds") contributed to the *Cornhill Magazine* of August 1882, the following is stated with regard to the traditions of this part of Lincolnshire:—"Ghosts, bogies, and the supernatural generally have utterly vanished from this commonplace district before schools and newspapers. Even an old lady more than ninety years old said to us, 'Fairies and shag-boys! lasses are often skeart at them, but I never saw none, though I have passed many a time after dark a most terrible spot for them on the road at Thorpe.' The identity of "shag-boy" with "hog-boy" (as used in Orkney) is asserted by the writer of the *Cornhill* article; who also states: "In an adjoining field [near Beelsby] lingers one of the few legends of this prosaic district. A treasure is supposed to be hidden in it, and at times two little men, wearing red caps, something like the Irish *leprechauns*, may be seen intently digging for it." These little "red-caps" are not identified with the "shag-boys", but popular tradition generally would pronounce them to be the same people.

boys" or "hog-boys", then, that local tradition remembered as the inhabitant of Maes-how. And nowhere is the tenacity of the popular memory more strongly illustrated than in this instance. For, during many centuries prior to 1861, this had been nothing more, to the passing stranger, than a grassy hillock, utterly void of any indication that its interior was "hollow", and that the whole structure—stone-built dwelling, and super-imposed earth—was entirely artificial,—the work of a vanished race. And yet, so full of vitality is tradition, that the descendants of those who had seen its inmate or inmates, knew, in spite of the lapse of a thousand years, that this was no ordinary grassy mound, but that once upon a time it had been the habitation of people of a certain race, whose characteristics are even yet remembered, if only in a confused and imperfect manner.

However important and necessary a written description may be, it is very incomplete without a personal inspection of the place described, or in lieu of that, the "counterfeit presentment", which is almost as serviceable. From the following diagrams of Maes-how

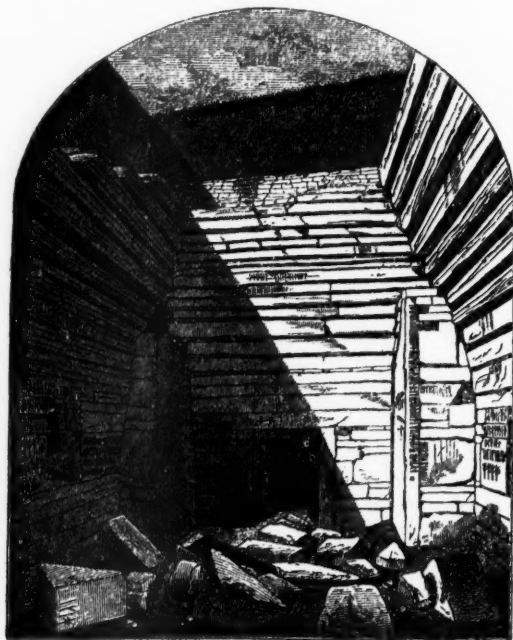


SECTIONAL VIEW AND GROUND-PLAN OF MAES-HOW.

one obtains an admirable idea of the exterior and interior of a *shecan*, Fairy Hillock, or Fairy Ha'.

After examining these pictures of this famous "how", one is able to fully understand the traditional accounts of the "hollow

hillocks" of the dwarfs. One can fit any of the many stories that tell of visits paid to such "hills" into this particular scene. There is the small, concealed entrance at the base of the hill (at which, or beside which, the visitor used to knock until "the hill opened"—revealing a low, narrow, dark passage). In this instance the aperture is 2 feet 4 inches in height, and of exactly the same breadth; and its dimensions continue the same for the first $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet into the hill (for it will be seen that the mound of stone and earth that surrounded and covered the actual building gave the habitation a



THE INTERIOR OF THE "HOW".

fictitious base, which had to be penetrated by this passage until the walls of the main building were reached—in the centre of the "hill".)¹

¹ One is apt to talk of this introductory passage as though it had actually *penetrated* a previously existing mound. But the construction of all those chambered mounds shows plainly that the original stone structure, not only the central building but the long passage of approach, was originally reared upon the surface of the level ground, in the open air. And that the "fairy hillock" had no existence at all until the builders of the stone structure had heaped above it all—chamber and gallery—the mass of earth and stones that afterwards transformed the whole exterior into a "green hillock", and thus completely disguised its real nature from all but the initiated.

In Maes-how the passage of approach is fully 53 feet long. Its height, as already stated is only 2 feet 4 inches during the first 22 feet of length ; so that no one, unless an actual dwarf, could walk erect along this portion. After this the roof of the passage rises to 4 feet 4 inches ; and it retains this height during the next 28 feet of length. The remaining distance—scarcely 3 feet—is 4 inches higher ; and then “ it enters the middle of one of the four sides of a chamber which is 15 feet square, and has, when complete, been about 20 feet high in the centre. The walls of this chamber are perpendicular for about 6 feet, after which the slabs, which generally extend the whole length of a side, project beyond the courses on which they rest, until in this way the roof has been completed in the shape of an inverted pyramid formed of successive steps.”¹ In the three sides of this central hall (excluding the side at which the long passage emerges) there are respective entrances into three small chambers. The largest of these is less than 7 feet long, less than 5 feet broad, and its roof is only 3½ feet from the floor.

In assuming that the roof of this building, now open to the sky, was “ completed in the shape of an inverted pyramid formed of successive steps”, Colonel Leslie is at variance with the description given by an eighteenth century writer (in connection with similar buildings), and at variance also with tradition. The difference is a slight one, but it ought to be referred to. The roof was not precisely *completed* in such buildings, according to the writer referred to ; it “ was carried on round about with long stones [each successive course projecting, and thus gradually narrowing the orifice], till it ended in an opening at the top, which served both for light and a vent to carry off the smoke of their fire.” Without this opening the dwelling had very little light or air ; for little of either could have straggled in from the mouth of the narrow, underground passage, which reached the open air at a distance of 53 feet from the dwelling, and whose entrance, besides, was nearly always closed during the day.²

¹ For these details see Colonel Forbes Leslie's *Early Races of Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 338-40.

² Even with this roof-light the interior of the dwelling can only have received a limited supply of daylight. And this explains the statement made by a Scotch peasant who was taken by a “fairy” woman into her abode. “Being asked by the judge [before whom he was tried for ‘witchcraft’] whether the place within the hill, which he called a hall, were light or dark, he said, ‘*Indifferent, as it is with us in the twilight.*’”

At night, when the abode of the “hillmen” was lit up with the glow of the fire, the cavity above the building, and the atmosphere overhead, must have also received some share of the firelight. This would account for the state-

While tradition seems clearly to indicate that the roof of the dwelling communicated with the open air above, there is necessarily some uncertainty on this point. The writer who speaks of the roof of such a building being "carried on round about with long stones, till it ended in an opening at the top", may have had in view a structure more resembling the open-air "broch" than the *sith-bhrog*; although he mentions that the kind of building he describes often "looks outwardly like a heap without any design".¹ It is undoubted that many such mounds, for example, those of New Grange and Dowth, in the Boyne district, have their rude, "Pelasgian arch", crowned with one large stone as keystone; and that, therefore, any upward exit from the chamber must have led off in a slant from some portion of the wall. On the other hand, there are several indications that when one ascended the outside of a *sheean*, in the days when it was inhabited, one found oneself at the edge of a hollow or crater, at the foot of which was the narrow orifice that gave light and air to the chamber below. More than one fairy-hill of the present day, not yet explored, has a small hole on its summit, and when a stone is dropped therein, it is heard to rumble and fall into some unknown cavern below. And the existence of such "craters" was well known (we are told by Scott, in his Introduction to the *Tale of Tamlane*) to the people of Scotland. "Wells, or pits, on the top of hills were supposed to lead to the subterranean habitations of the Fairies." Legendary stories in connection with these there are many—of men descending such "pits", sometimes well knowing what to expect, and of having hand-to-hand fights with the natives of these abodes. At other times the attack was made by those "hillmen" themselves; who seem to have emerged by this entrance as often as by the other. "A savage issuing from a mount" was once a well-known bearing in Scottish heraldry. Mr. J. F. Campbell records a Ross-shire tradition of a dwarf who inhabited *Tombuidhe Ghearrloch*, "The Tawny Hillock of Gairloch", and who was the terror of the neighbourhood (whose chief inhabitants, in his day, belonged to another

ment made by Wallace (who wrote at the period when "Evil Spirits also called Fairies" were "frequently seen in several of the [Orkney] Isles dancing and making merry"), to the effect that, "in the Parish of Evie, near the Sea, are some small *Hillocks*, which frequently in the Night time appear all in a fire". And when Mrs. Ewing, in her *Old-Fashioned Fairy Tales*, says that *shian* is "a Gaelic name for fairy towers, which *by day* are not to be told from mountain crags", she evidently alludes to the same feature.

¹ See the description in an Appendix to Pennant's *Tour*, written by the then minister of the parish of Reay, Sutherlandshire.

race). Before he was himself slain, this formidable dwarf had killed many of the latter race; none of whom (with one exception) dared to venture near his "hillock" after dusk. He was at length killed by a local champion, still remembered as "Big Hugh" (Uistean Mor, MacGhille Phadrig); who was celebrated as a slayer of dwarfs; and who appears to have devoted himself to their extermination in that particular district. And, in the story of the killing of this noted dwarf, it is stated that Uistean climbed to the top of the hillock (*Tom-buidhe*), and attacked its inhabitant, who emerged from the foot of its "crater" or "pit"; in other words, from the roof of his dwelling.¹

This, of course, is tradition. But the northern sagas (though "tradition" also) are accepted as "history", in some degree. And the sagas bear a like record. Their heroes break into those dwellings, make their entrance by the hole at the bottom of the "crater", and attack the inhabitants, who, seizing their weapons, defend their lives and (in many cases) their treasures. And, before leaving the "hollow hill" of Maes-how, it may be stated that this particular *broch*, or *sheean*, is believed to have been invaded about a thousand years ago. It was entered in the twelfth century by some of those North-men who were on their way to the Holy Land; and these have incised various inscriptions on its inner walls. But at that date it was empty—and had been rifled many centuries before. One legendary tale places the date of its original despoliation as far back as the year 920; and states that "Olaf the Norseman" was its invader; and that he encountered its possessor, whom he overcame—after a deadly struggle. And, since "the common tradition of the country [up to the year 1861, when it was reopened] represented it as the abode of a goblin, who was named 'the Hog-boy'," it would seem that the prevailing blood of the country-people, in that district, is akin to that of this "Olaf the Norseman"; and that, therefore, in this instance, the popular memory reaches back for nearly a thousand years, with the most perfect precision.²

¹ *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. ii, pp. 97-101.

² For fuller information as to Maes-how, and references to more detailed accounts, see Dr. Anderson's *Orkneyinga Saga*, Introduction, pp. ci-cviii.

It may be added that one feature in the first of the Maes-how diagrams conveys a wrong impression of the probable appearance of the mound, when inhabited; because the "well or pit" (or "crater") is represented as being as solid as the rest of the outer covering. That it gradually became filled up with drift and rubbish, after the dwelling ceased to be occupied, is evident. But when the edifice was newly reared, and as long as people continued to inhabit it, the

The Ross-shire *Tombuidhe* and this Orcadian *broch* are two specimens of the one class; and, both as regards the character of the dwellers and the dwellings, they have many counterparts. How many we do not yet know. It is probable that, in the British Islands alone, they may be numbered by thousands (and we need not here speculate as to the continent of Europe, and other parts of the globe). Colonel Forbes Leslie, referring only to Scotland, says that "even in the present day many a green mound . . . is shunned by sturdy peasants who would not fear the hostility of any mortal"—and this because that mound once contained one or more people of a race of whom that peasant's ancestors stood greatly in awe. That the valleys of the Forth and Teith alone contain a great number of those "green hillocks", as yet unexamined, has been stated by a most able investigator of the Scotch *brochs*, Dr. Joseph Anderson. How many other districts can tell a similar story is a problem that will some day be solved.

The collector (who is, to a great extent, the exponent also) of the *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, appends several very interesting remarks to one of these stories: that of *The Smith and the Fairies* (vol. ii, pp. 46-55). Among other things, he says: "The belief that 'the hill' opened on a certain night, and that a light shone from the inside, where little people might be seen dancing, was too deeply grounded some years ago to be lightly spoken of; . . . 'In the glebe of Kilbrandon in Lorn is a hill called Crocan Corr . . . where the fairies . . . were often seen dancing around their fire.'" And reference is also made to "a certain hill in Muckairn, known to be the residence of the fairies". The incident connected with it is capped with a similar one "told of a hill called Ben-cnock in Islay"; and "another hill, called Cnock-down" (presumably in Islay) has a like history. But such "hills" are too numerous to mention in detail.

Owing to the great mass of earth which was heaped over the dwelling—the actual "kernel" of the mound—it will be seen that new-comers of another race from the mound-dwellers might build houses, or bury their dead, above the homes of the "little people", without being aware that the hill they were so utilising was entirely of artificial origin. Nor are there wanting illustrations of this, in fact and in tradition. Legendary lore, indeed, is full of incidents arising from the contact, often unexpected on the one side, of the

upper part of the mound was probably a hollow shaft, admitting light and air into the dwelling below, "carrying off the smoke of their fire", and occasionally serving as a way of ingress and egress.

two races; and many such tales reveal the mound-dwellers in a very homely light. The following story from the Hebridean island of Barra, for example :—

“There was a woman in Baile Thangasdail, and she was out seeking a couple of calves; and the night and lateness caught her, and there came rain and tempest, and she was seeking shelter. She went to a knoll with the couple of calves, and she was striking the tether peg into it. The knoll opened. She heard a gleegashing as if a pot-hook were clashing beside a pot. She took wonder, and she stopped striking the tether-peg. A woman put out her head and all above her middle, and she said, ‘What business hast thou to be troubling this tulman in which I make my dwelling?’ ‘I am taking care of this couple of calves, and I am but weak. Where shall I go with them?’ ‘Thou shalt go with them to that breast down yonder. Thou wilt see a tuft of grass. If thy couple of calves eat that tuft of grass, thou wilt not be a day without a milk cow as long as thou art alive, because thou hast taken my counsel.’”¹

This story exemplifies the well-known prophetic or “supernatural” powers of the dwarf races, while at the same time it presents the “fairy abode” to us in a very matter-of-fact light.

Of houses built upon the summit of the slope of a fairy hill, a modern instance is furnished by Hugh Miller, in his reminiscences of Sutherlandshire (*My Schools and Schoolmasters*, 1881 ed., p. 108), wherein he mentions that a cousin of his had built his house “half-way up the slope of a beautiful tomhan”,² which was regarded as a fairy residence. This “tomhan” appears to have been near Lairg, and in “the Barony of Gruids”.

Hugh Miller again points out a fairy locality, when referring to a boating excursion on Loch Maree, in 1823, on which occasion he learned from the boatman that one of the islands, *Eilean Suthainn*, was the annual rendezvous of the fairies, where they paid to their queen the yearly “kain” or tribute, due to “the Evil One”. This reference is quoted by the author of *Gairloch*,³ who also states :—

“In Gairloch we have Cathair Mhor and Cathair Bheag, names applied to several places; and the Sitheanan Dubha on Isle Ewe and on the North Point. There is Cathair Mhor at the head of Loch Maree, and Cathair Beag (the Gaelic name of the place) at Kerrysdale. These names mean respectively the big and little seats of the fairies. . . .

“The name Sitheanan Dubha signifies the black knowes or hillocks of the fairies. It is applied to two places in Gairloch, viz., to the highest hill-

¹ *West Highland Tales*, ii, 39.

² Cf. *tulman* in the preceding anecdote quoted above. See also *Archæological Review*, Oct. 1889, p. 197, note 1.

³ Mr. J. H. Dixon, F.S.A.Scot. (See *Gairloch* Edin., 1886, pp. 159-61.)

tops at the north end of Isle Ewe, and to a low hill and small round loch a full mile due north of Carn Dearg house. . . ."

So numerous are the mounds that, owing to the traditions attaching to them, invite their own destruction at the hands of the archæologist, that only a limited number of them can be specified in these pages. Among these were, until recent years, two "fairy knowes", long known by that term in the adjoining countryside. They lie between the rivers Forth and Teith, about four miles to the south of Doune. One of them was broken into a good many years ago, and it is now known to antiquaries as "the Broch of Coldoch" (from the estate on which it is situated).¹ It appears to be one of those structures which form a connecting link between the open-air broch, such as that of Mousa, and the more visible "hill", such as Maes-how. It is circular in form, has the central chamber and three small chambers in the thickness of the wall; and the lower portion of a winding-stair, also in the wall, which shows it to be the remains of an inferior "Mousa". Its dimensions are like those of other "brochs", and these are such that, in this case, they evoked the remark from the writer's guide (a native of the district) that "it had never been built for men like him". This, indeed, is the remark that naturally falls from any visitor to such buildings; as the writer has noticed on several such occasions (nor can he forget that one, at any rate, of his companions, in a recent visit to "the hidden places of the Fians and fairies" in the Valley of the Boyne, was debarred from inspecting these interesting works for the simple reason that the underground passage of entrance was so strait, in every way, that for him to worm himself along it, as all visitors must do, was a physical impossibility). The popular belief that such mounds were tenanted by dwarfs has no stronger testimony than the obvious fact that none but dwarfs would have thought of raising such structures; or could have properly utilised them, when erected. And although the most famous of the Boyne mounds just referred to has been styled "the firm mansion of the 'Dagda'", in ancient records, and, by a modern singer,

"The Royal Brugh,
By the dark-rolling waters of the Boyne,
Where Angus Og magnificently dwells,"

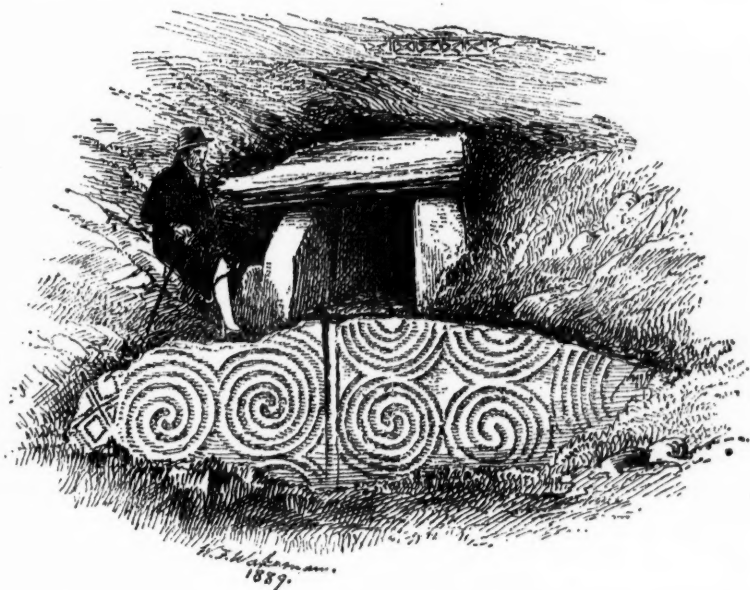
yet such a "mansion" would be a most impracticable kind of abode for men of the ordinary height of modern Europeans, if any such felt disposed to imitate the "magnificence" of Angus Og.

¹ This "fairy knowe" is described in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. v, and the *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, 1st Series, ix, 37-38.

Of this "Royal Brugh", already spoken of more than once in the course of these remarks, the outward appearance is represented below. The drawing has been reduced to a much smaller scale than that of Maes-how, but the Boyne mound is really much larger, and its interior structure is much ruder and more primitive, than in the case of the kindred mound in Orkney.

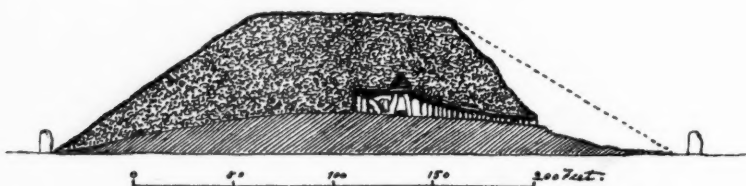


Slightly to the left of the two figures in the foreground may be discerned the doorway into the "hill". The following picture shows this doorway on a larger scale.

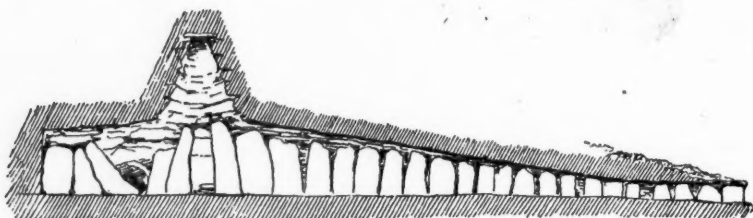


The (not too portly) explorer who enters this doorway and creeps, sometimes laterally, along the passage, at one point very

low and narrow, works his way at length into the comparatively large chamber that forms the main part of the structure. The relation which this passage and chamber bear to the mound which was heaped over them, will be seen from this transverse sectional view of the "hill":—

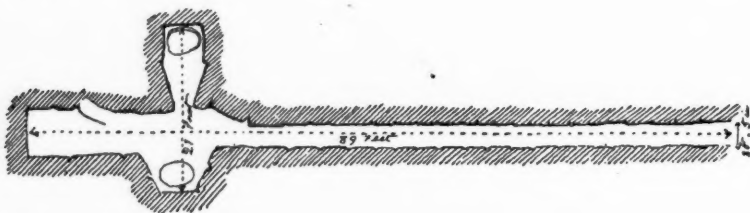


And the following shows the same structure, on a larger scale:—



*Total length 89 feet Height of Dome 18 feet
Height of Passage, at entrance, 4 feet*

while the ground-plan of this now subterranean building is portrayed below.



From all of which it will be seen that no modern European is likely to envy Angus Og the "magnificence" of his dwelling.

It ought to be pointed out that such a barrow as this "Brugh of the Boyne" belongs to the largest class of such structures, at present revealed to us. What may be taken as the average "fairy knowe" (for example, the Broch of Coldoch) is very much smaller. Therefore, when it is said that houses have, in all likelihood, been very frequently built upon such artificial eminences, without the

more modern builders being aware of their real nature, it is to be understood that the tumuli of the larger class are indicated. But, while it is probable that newer races very often built thus unconsciously upon the outer crust of the habitations of the mound-dwellers, it is still more likely that, in course of time, the central chamber of the mound became by slow degrees the dungeon of a fort or castle that had evolved itself from it. When a "how" of the larger class had been "broken" by invaders, and its inmates despoiled and killed or enslaved, their conquerors would quickly realise that this artificial mound, rising out of a level plain, formed an admirable site for a stronghold; and, indeed, that the only thing immediately necessary was to throw up a rampart round the top of the hill. To races who had no fancy for the subterranean manner of living, the strongholds of their predecessors would not suffice, although they would still prove very serviceable as cellars, or dungeons, or as forming a secret way of access to the castle which would eventually tower above them. Where the subject race was not exterminated, the former lord of the "broch" would still live on as the serf of his conqueror, and, on account of his physical peculiarities, he would be remembered as his master's "dwarf", or "brownie", while the women of his race, still claiming their inherited "supernatural" power, would constitute the prophetic half-dreaded "banshee" (*bean-sithe*, or fairy-woman) that foretold the destinies of the house of her over-lord. It is a significant fact that the possession of a family "banshee" in Ireland is restricted to those families who trace their descent from the Milesians (Scots), the conquerors of the Cruithné or Pechts. And we are told that, at one time, in Shetland, where the Pechts became the subject race, "almost every family had a *brownie* . . . which served them."¹ Innumerable references of this kind might be given.

Such an example of a mediæval castle, the flower of a plant rooted in the interior of such a mound, may be recognised in Kenilworth. According to local tradition, the hill upon which Kenilworth Castle is built was once inhabited by fairies, who are remembered by the same characteristics as their kindred elsewhere. But the consideration of a Warwickshire mound might lead us too far away from the dwarfs more specially known as Picts or Pechts, and therefore it is better to continue as much as possible within the area already examined. It is enough to note that the Kenil-

¹ For such details see Scott's Introduction to *The Monastery*, etc., etc.; Brand's *Description of Zetland*; and Armstrong's *Gaelic Dictionary*, s.v. *Uruisg*.

worth dwarfs, in the days when their mound was merely a subterranean vault of the great castle overhead, and themselves nothing more than the "Redcaps" of the cellar (as in Mr. Campbell's story, *West Highland Tales*, i, xlvii), formed a marked contrast to the once dreaded "shag-boys" or mound-dwellers, as these are remembered in Lincolnshire tradition.¹

However, if Kenilworth is too far south to be recognised as a home of the historical Pechts, Ancient Northumbria has not the same objection against it. And in East Lothian, which is a portion of that province, a certain Castle of Yester was once famous for its "Goblin Hall", which is thus described in the Appendix to *Marmion* (note 2 P):—

"*The Goblin Hall.*—A vaulted hall under the ancient castle of Gifford or Yester (for it bears either name indifferently), the construction of which has from a very remote period been ascribed to magic. . . . 'Upon a peninsula, formed by the water of Hopes on the east, and a large rivulet on the west, stands the ancient castle of Yester. Sir David Dalrymple, in his annals, relates that "Hugh Gifford de Yester died in 1267; that in his castle there was a capacious cavern, formed by magical art, and called in the country Bo-Hall, *i.e.*, Hobgoblin Hall." A stair of twenty-four steps led down to this apartment, which is a large and spacious hall, with an arched roof. . . . From the floor of this hall, another stair of thirty-six

¹ Although the dwarfs of central England may not rightly be considered under the name of Picts or Pechts, a chain connecting them with the people thus called is discernible. Scott says that "according to romantic tradition", Kenilworth "had been first tenanted" by "those primitive Britons" who were "the soldiers of King Arthur" (*Kenilworth*, ch. xxvi). Thus, the early inhabitants of Kenilworth are equally "fairies" and "primitive Britons". Again, in Glamorganshire (according to Mr. Wirt Sikes, *British Goblins*, pp. 6 and 392), there is "a certain steep and rugged crag" which bears "a distinctly awful reputation as a stronghold of the fairy tribe"; and, in a secret cavern underneath this crag, "Arthur and his warriors" are believed to be sleeping. While an Edinburgh tradition, given by Dr. Daniel Wilson (*Memorials*, vol. ii, ch. xix), states that "King Arthur and the Pechts" have also withdrawn to a subterranean retreat in the hill which is still known as Arthur's Seat. Obviously, Arthur, if he ever lived, cannot have retired into all of these places, but there is nevertheless a vague agreement in these three traditions; and Kenilworth, Arthur's Seat, and Craig y Ddinas all testify to an identification of Arthur and his "primitive Britons" with the underground "fairies" and "Pechts". It may be objected that the tradition of Barbarossa, as in Rückert's ballad, asleep in his underground castle, with his dwarf beside him, is evidently of the same origin as those just referred to. This is manifest. But, before attempting to reconcile Continental with British tradition, it is important to first demonstrate, if that may be done, that the British traditions here spoken of are *historical* and not *mythological*. (The story of the Kenilworth fairies will be found at p. 218 of *The Dialect of the English Gypsies*, by B. C. Smart and H. T. Crofton, London, 1875.)

steps leads down to a pit which hath a communication with Hopes-water”

In this instance, the “pit” which communicated with the neighbouring stream was probably the original underground dwelling; and if the arch of the “vaulted hall” above it is not of the “Pelasgic” order, it is to be presumed that the “goblins”¹ who built it had received fresh ideas from a race possessed of a more advanced civilisation.

The Castle of Doune, in Perthshire, is another probable instance of the mediæval castle evolved from the primitive mound. What is nowadays known as the castle of “Doune”, was formerly spoken of as “The Dùn (or Doon) of Menteith”. “Doune (Dun), no doubt, had once, where its castle now stands, an ancient fortress; but the name is all that now remains to bespeak it”, says a lady-writer on this subject.² It is very probable, therefore, that the original “Doon of Menteith” was the mound upon which the present building now stands; and that this was at one time the chief stronghold of the district of Menteith. One *doon*, which has apparently never advanced from its earliest stage, is that of Rothiemurchus, in the district of Badenoch (Inverness-shire). “A mound which has every appearance of having been used in ancient times for purposes of defence stands at the Doun of Rothimurcus, and is properly the *Doune*, or *Dun*”, says a modern historian of that district.³ Such a structure as this seems to combine the dwelling and the fort; the “hollow hill” having presumably been so constructed as to render the “crater” on its summit a place of defence. That this Doon of

¹ It is impossible to refer here to the many terms used to denote what is really one class of people; as these terms themselves show when analysed. But this term “goblin”, although in recent centuries it has been surrounded with much that is unreal and fictitious, appears to have been once used in the most ordinary matter-of-fact way. This will be seen from the following reference quoted by Dr. Henry Rink (*Danish Greenland*, 1877, p. 16), in the narrative of a Norse visit to Greenland in the eleventh century:—“One morning Thorgils went out by himself on the ice, and discovered the carcase of a whale in an opening, and beside two ‘witches’ (or ‘goblins’, evidently Eskimo women), who were tying large bundles of flesh together. Thorgils instantly rushed upon one of them with his sword and cut off one of her hands, whereupon both of them took to their heels.” In other words, the eleventh century natives of Greenland, whom Dr. Rink believes were Eskimos, were at once classed by a Norwegian of that period in the same category as those whom he had been accustomed to call “goblins” in Europe.

² Miss C. MacLagan, *Proc. of Soc. of Ant. of Scot.* (1st Series), ix, 39.

³ A. Mackintosh Shaw, *History of the Mackintoshes*, 1880, vol. i, p. 24, note. This writer also points out that the word “Rothimurcus” itself indicates a “fortified mound” or *Rath*.

Rothiemurchus was once inhabited seems clearly indicated. In speaking of the *bean-sithe*, or fairy woman, already referred to as the appanage of old Milesian families, Sir Walter Scott states that "most great families in the Highlands" were thus distinguished, and that "Grant of Rothiemurchus had an attendant called *Bodach-an-dùn*";¹ in other words, "The Goblin of the Doon". And when Scott states, in the *note* immediately preceding that just quoted, that "a goblin, dressed in antique armour, and having one hand covered with blood, called from that circumstance *Lamh-dearg*, or Red-hand, is a tenant of the forests of Glenmore and Rothiemurchus", he indicates a tradition that seems to be connected with the "goblins" of the Doon of Rothiemurchus.²

However, although referred to in passing, the Rothiemurchus mound is not one of those on which a stone castle has been subsequently reared. But of the latter class an example is furnished by the "Castle Hill" of Clunie, in Perthshire. It is thus described in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account* :—

"On the western shore of the loch of Clunie stands the old castle-hill, a large, green mound, partly natural and partly artificial, on the top of which are the ruins of a very old building. Some aged persons still alive [in the end of last century] remember to have seen a small aperture, now invisible, at the edge of one of the fragments of the ruins, where, if a stone was thrown in, it was heard for some time, as if rolling down a stair-case. From this it seems probable that were a section of the hill to be made, some curious discoveries might be the consequence."

Resembling Fierna's Hillock, near Limerick, in its having this "small aperture", communicating with an unexplored vault below, this Perthshire mound is also celebrated, like Knock-Fierna, for its association with the "fairies". The castle which once crowned its summit has more historical memories.

Of this castle, in which, it is said, King Edward I of England passed a night, in the course of his triumphant progress through Scotland in 1296, nothing now remains. But a tradition relating to an earlier period asserts that this place was once a hunting-ground of Kenneth MacAlpin, the ninth-century conqueror of the Picts (whose king he subsequently became). Although Kenneth and his son after him, bore the title of "King of the Picts", it is tolerably clear that he was a Scot or Milesian by race, and it is certain that he broke up the power of the Picts in Central Scotland. As he was not one of this latter race himself, it is probable that any

¹ Appendix to *The Lady of the Lake*, note 2 H.

² See also *West Highland Tales*, ii, 66, for a reference to this personage.

"hunting-seat" possessed by him at this place took the shape of an above-ground building, and that therefore the memories of the "supernatural" inhabitants of this mound date back to the time when it was still an unconquered stronghold of the Pechts. As, however, the suggested "section of the hill" has never yet been made, nothing definite is at present known regarding the interior of this mound.

One of the incidents relating to the "goblin" of Rothiemurchus is included by Mr. J. F. Campbell among the traditions obtained by him from the district of Badenoch, in Inverness-shire. "The Badenoch account of the fairies" is stated to be "much the same" as those from other parts of the Highlands, and they show "that according to popular belief, fairies commonly carried off men, women, and children, who seemed to die, but really lived underground." A tale of this kind, "now commonly believed in Badenoch", is to this effect:—A man who, returning home after a short absence, found that his wife had disappeared and that another woman had taken her place, demanded from the latter, on pain of death, to tell him where his wife had been conveyed to. "She told him that his wife had been carried to Cnoc Fraing, a mountain on the borders of Badenoch and Strathdearn." "The man went to Cnoc Fraing. He was suspected before of having something supernatural about him; and he soon found the fairies, who told him his wife had been taken to Shiathan Mor, a neighbouring mountain. He went there and was sent to Tom na Shirich, near Inverness. There he went, and at the 'Fairy Knoll' found his wife and brought her back."¹

Mr. Campbell adds that "the person who related this story pretended to have seen people who knew distant descendants of the woman"—but beyond indicating that the tradition is very old, this does not place these events in any particular century. The localities named, however, are full of suggestiveness. Of *Cnoc Fraing*, nothing is known to the present writer. But "Shiathan Mor", to which the woman is said to have been first taken, signifies "The Great Hill of the Fairies". Such a name is of very frequent occurrence in the Highlands. One who is well versed in these matters says: "There is perhaps not a hamlet or township in the Highlands or Hebrides without its *shian* or green fairy knoll so called. Within half-a-mile of our own residence, for example, there is a *Sithean Beag* and a *Sithean Mor*, a Lesser and Greater Fairy Knoll."² In

¹ *West Highland Tales*, ii, 67.

Rev. Alex. Stewart, F.S.A.Scot., in *Nether Lochaber*, Edin., 1883, p. 20.

the Hebridean island of Colonsay, where Martin, the eighteenth century traveller, found that "the natives have a tradition among them of a very little generation of people that lived once here, called Lusbirdan, the same with pigmies", one finds a "Sheean Mòr" and a "Sheean Beg", along with many other traces of those people.¹ But it is unnecessary to multiply special instances. It was to a Great Knoll of the Fairies, then, that the woman was taken, and thereafter to "Tom na Shirich, near Inverness". This name also signifies "Hill of the Fairies". *Shirich*, more correctly *Sibhreach*, is apparently a less common form, equivalent to Sidh-fear, Duine Sith, etc., but it occurs more than once in the *West Highland Tales*,² both as a singular and a plural. When the initial "s" of *sibhreach*, or *sithreach*, becomes aspirated, after the common Gaelic fashion, the sibilant is no longer heard; and this is exemplified in the case of "Tom na Shirich", which is nowadays spelt as it is pronounced, *Tomnahurich* (or *Tomnaheurich*, etc.).³ Of this Inverness hill much has been written.

It is sometimes called *Tomman-heurich*, and spoken of as a *tomman*, which connects it with the word *tulman* or *tolman*, already referred to. Hugh Miller, in speaking of "that Queen of Scottish tomhans, the picturesque Tomnahuirich", employs both forms at the same time, which is contradictory. Pennant, who visited it last century, refers to it also as a *tomman*. In his *Tour*, he thus describes "the strange shaped hill of Tomman heurich":—

"The Tomman is of an oblong form, broad at the base, and sloping on all sides towards the top; so that it looks like a ship with its keel upwards. . . . It is perfectly detached from any other hill; and if it was not for its great size, might pass for a work of art." "Its length at top [is] about 300 yards; I neglected measuring the base or the height, which are both considerable; the breadth of the top [is] only 20 yards."

Captain Burt, in his *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland* (Letter XII), speaks of it as follows:—

"About a mile westward from the town [Inverness], there rises, out of a perfect flat, a very regular hill; whether natural or artificial, I could never

He adds: "There is, besides, a *Glacan-l' Shithein*, the Fairy Knoll Glade; *To-baran-l' Shithein*, the Fairy Knoll Well; and a deep chasm, through which a mountain torrent plunges darkling, called *Leum-an-l' Shithiehe*, the Fairy Leap."

¹ See *Proc. of Soc. of Antiq. of Scot.*, 1880-81, p. 113 *et seq.*

² See vol. ii, pp. 48 and 52. The latter page mentions a "*Ruadh na Shirach*, the fairies' point", in the island of Kerrera, near Oban.

³ Similarly, a "Fairy Loch" in Argyleshire is spelt *Loch na Hurich*, and a like example is that of *Glennahuirich*, in Nether Lochaber.

find by any tradition ; the natives call it *tommanheurach*. It is almost in the shape of a Thames wherry, turned keel upwards, for which reason they sometimes call it Noah's Ark. The length of it is about four hundred yards, and the breadth at bottom about one hundred and fifty. From below, at every point of view, it seems to end at top in a narrow ridge ; but when you are there, you find a plain large enough to draw up two or three battalions of men. Hither we sometimes retire on a summer's evening. . . . But this is not the only reason why I speak of this hill ; it is the weak credulity with which it is attended, that led me to this detail ; for as anything, ever so little extraordinary, may serve as a foundation (to such as are ignorant, heedless, or interested) for ridiculous stories and imaginations, so the fairies within it are innumerable, and witches find it the most convenient place for their frolics and gambols in the night time."

Now, if this large hill, which "might pass for a work of art", was really, as tradition states, the residence of the little people known as dwarfs or Pechts, it was clearly an important seat of those people. And, on regarding them from the historian's point of view, one finds that this district was specially so distinguished. "When we can first venture to regard the list of the Pictish kings preserved in the *Pictish Chronicle* as having some claim to a historical character, we find the king having his seat apparently in Forfarshire ; but when the works of Adamnan and Bede place us upon firm ground, the monarch belonged to the race of the Northern Picts, and had his fortified residence near the mouth of the river Ness" [Inver-Ness]. And the same historian again observes : "Adamnan, writing in the seventh century, tells us of the fortified residence of the king of the Picts on the banks of the river Ness, with its royal house and gates, of a village on the banks of a lake, and of the houses of the country people."¹

Hitherto, the place which has been regarded as most likely the site of this seventh-century stronghold, is the vitrified fort which crowns the summit of Craig Patrick (or *Creag Phadrnig*), a hill not far from Inverness. But the top of a hill fully eleven hundred feet high can scarcely be referred to as a situation "on the banks of the river Ness", from which river it is, moreover, two or three miles distant. The situation of Tomnahurich, on the other hand, does exactly answer to the description given. And this "hill", whose peculiar appearance has attracted the attention of several travellers, is locally remembered as a celebrated home of the "Pechts". Nor is it necessary to confine oneself to the consideration of this hill alone. Adamnan speaks not only of a royal residence, but also of

¹ See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i, 232 ; and iii, 10.

"the houses of the country people". "The country people" of whom he speaks were Pechts, and their "houses", of course, were "Pechts' houses"; "houses" such as the Fairy Knowe unearthed at Coldoch, near Doune, already referred to. In other words *sheeans*. Now, when Hugh Miller speaks of "that Queen of Scottish tomhans, the picturesque Tomnahuirich", he states that it belongs to "a wonderful group" of similar mounds "in the immediate neighbourhood of Inverness". The "houses" of the mound-dwelling Pechts had one admirable characteristic: they were almost indestructible. If the King of the Dwarfs had his residence at Inverness during the seventh century, with "the houses of the country people", of the same race, scattered all through the immediate neighbourhood, their dwellings must be there still: and anyone who wanted to localise them would naturally turn to such mounds as the "wonderful groups" of "tomhans" of which Hugh Miller speaks.¹

Inverness, however, was not the only important centre of Pictish power. Among others, there was Abernethy, a few miles south-east of Perth. And at this place, says Small, in his *Roman Antiquities of Fife*, the spot wherein the treasures of the Pictish king are believed to be hidden² was guarded by a *droughy* (*droich* or *trow*) who fiercely assailed any invader. Of the Pechts in that neighbourhood there are many traditions.

A few miles to the west of Abernethy is Forteviot, where Kenneth MacAlpin, the conqueror and ruler of the Pechts, died in the latter part of the ninth century. Prior to the successful invasion of Kenneth's race, this district—like that of Abernethy and all the country north to Inverness—had been inhabited by Pechts: and Forteviot is stated to have been a seat of Pictish royalty. Some miles to the south-west of Forteviot there is a hill called Ternavie, which has characteristics similar to those of Tomnahuirich. "Ter-

¹ Hugh Miller, although he confesses himself puzzled as to their origin, undoubtedly regarded those "tomhans" as entirely natural. And if it should appear that he was mistaken, there would, in that event, be a new question opened up; because of the peculiar characteristics of what he knew as "tomhans".

It is an unfortunate circumstance that any practical attempt at testing the accuracy of the local tradition regarding Tomnahuirich itself is out of the question, owing to the fact that for many years its exterior has been used as a burying-ground—as more than one "hollow hill" is known to have been. But "the houses of the country people" would afford a sufficient test.

² A kettle of gold is specially mentioned, and in the "hidden places" of the fairies of White Cater Thun, near Brechin, a kettle of gold is also believed to be concealed.

navie has been pronounced 'the most remarkable spot in this parish or neighbourhood'. It is a hill or mound of earth, of a very curious form, occupying, when the Old Statistical Account was written, 'many acres of ground, covered with a fine sward of grass, and striking the eye at a distance of several miles. It resembles in shape the keel of a ship inverted.' And local tradition asserts, says the writer quoted from,¹ that once upon a time, a countryman attempting to obtain turf on the side of this hill, was suddenly confronted by an old man who emerged from the hill, "and with an angry countenance and tone of voice asked the countryman why he was tiring (uncovering) his house over his head?" This story does not say that the mound-dweller was a dwarf, but here we have a hill whose appearance suggests that it is at least partly artificial, and local tradition alleges that it was once inhabited. And this in the heart of Pictavia, or the country of the Pechts.

In the same county, but farther to the west, there is a locality which is remembered, like the island on the Ross-shire loch, as a gathering-place or rendezvous of the little people. It is situated in the valley of the Forth. The "Fairy Knowes" of Coldoch have already been spoken of. One of them, it was stated, has been opened, and its interior shows to the most sceptical that the tradition which told that it was a home of the dwarfs was absolutely correct. The other "knowe", some hundreds of yards distant, has not as yet been touched.² But that it, too, was a dwelling of the same "little people" is almost as certain as if the spade of the excavator had already done its work.

But the gathering-place referred to lies nearer the sources of the Forth than the "Fairy Knowe" of Coldoch and the Doune of Menteith. Like these places, it is situated in the district of Menteith, and beside the lake of that name, on its south-eastern shore. This hillock is known as *Cnoc nam Bocan*, or the Knowe of the Goblins, and we are told that it used to be "the headquarters of the fairies of the whole district of Menteith". These fairies, it is

¹ Dr. Marshall, *Historic Scenes in Perthshire*, Edinburgh, 1880, p. 263.

² Owing, I believe, to the fact that it is on a different estate. The following remarks by Mr. T. N. Deane, in his paper on the "hollow hills" of Knowth and Dowth, in the Boyne valley (*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dec. 1888, p. 164), may be aptly quoted here:—"For many years it has been the desire of antiquaries to explore Knowth, but I regret to say the owner is unwilling to permit a search being made. I am in great hopes that when it is fully understood that the vesting of a monument does not involve an infringement of territorial rights the difficulty will be overcome, and monuments now neglected will be placed under supervision."

said, were employed as the drudges of a former Earl of Menteith, in making the small peninsula known as Arnmauk, which juts out from the southern shore of the lake towards the small island of Inchmahome. The Earl, we are told, "in grateful acknowledgment of the work they had done in forming the peninsula, and wishing to be on good terms with them, made a grant to them of the north shoulder of Ben Venue; which is to this day called Coir-n'an-Uriskin, that is, the Cove of the Urisks or Fairies."¹ At this latter place, says another writer,² "the solemn stated meetings of the order were regularly held"; presumably at a later date.

However, "the north shoulder of Ben Venue" ought probably to be regarded as the latest "reservation" accorded to the little people. For, among the many "knowes" in the district of Menteith which are claimed as the homes of those people, there is one pre-eminently distinguished. Some miles to the west of the Lake of Menteith is the village of Aberfoyle, celebrated by Sir Walter Scott, who says of this locality: "The lakes and precipices amidst which the Avon Dhu [*Abhainn Dubh*; i.e., Black-Water], or River Forth, has its birth, are still, according to popular tradition, haunted by the Elfin people. . . . An eminently beautiful little conical hill, near the eastern extremity of the valley of Aberfoil, is supposed to be one of their peculiar haunts, and is the scene which awakens in Andrew Fairservice³ the terror of their power." The passage in *Rob Roy* to which Scott here refers is as follows:—

"A beautiful eminence of the most regular round shape, and clothed with copsewood of hazels, mountain-ash, and dwarf-oak, intermixed with a few magnificent old trees, which, rising above the underwood, exposed their forked and bared branches to the silver moonshine, seemed to protect the sources from which the river sprung. If I could trust the tale of my companion, which, while professing to disbelieve every word of it, he told under his breath, and with an air of something like intimidation, this hill, so regularly formed, so richly verdant, and garlanded with such a beautiful variety of ancient trees and thriving copsewood, was held by the neighbourhood to contain, within its unseen caverns, the palaces of the fairies—a race of airy beings, who formed an intermediate class between men and demons, and who, if not positively malignant to humanity, were yet to be avoided and feared, on account of their capricious, vindictive, and irritable disposition.

"'They ca' them,' said Mr. Jarvie, in a whisper, '*Daoine Schie*—

¹ Marshall's *Historic Scenes in Perthshire*, pp. 383-84.

² Dr. Graham, *Sketches of the Picturesque Scenery of Perthshire*, Edinburgh, 1806, p. 19.

³ A slip of Scott's for "Baillie Nicol Jarvie".

whilk signifies, as I understand, men of peace; meaning thereby to make their gudewill. And we may e'en as weel ca' them that too, Mr. Osbaldistone, for there's nae gude in speaking ill o' the laird within his ain bounds.' But he added presently after, on seeing one or two lights which twinkled before us, 'It's deceits o' Satan, after a', and I ferna to say it—for we are near the manse now, and yonder are the lights in the Clachan of Aberfoil.'¹

To describe this as a "*little, conical* hill", as Scott does, is misleading. When viewed transversely, from the opposite bank of the Blackwater, it has a conical appearance, certainly, as the gable of a roof has. But when its true length is seen, as when viewed from the west, this Fairy Knowe of Aberfoyle reveals itself as of the "hog-back" order, or as was said of Tomnaheurich, like a "Thames wherry, turned keel upwards". And as for its height, neither Scott's "little" nor its local name of "*Fairy Knowe*" gives anything like a true idea of its dimensions. How much of this "knowe" is artificial, or whether *any* of it is, remains to be discovered. But if it and Tomnaheurich have truly had the origin that tradition assigns to them, then they belong to a class of "hollow hills" which are as much greater than New Grange ("the Brugh of the Boyne") as New Grange is greater than Maes-how, or Maes-how than the Broch of Coldoch. Such a mound as Maes-how may be held to represent the ordinary Pecht's House or Fairy Hillock; a structure which, though of artifical origin, may be correctly styled a hillock. But New Grange is a "hill", not a "hillock". What limits the mound-builders set themselves is not known. But the people who were capable of the ideas and the labour implied in such a structure as "the Brugh of the Boyne" might as well have reared mounds that were two or three times its size.

This Fairy Knowe is not only known locally by that name, but also as the Doon,² or Doon Hill. If that implies that it was a fortification, the site was perfect. Protected on its north-eastern side by the river, and on the south-west by its own almost precipitous rampart, the Doon of Aberfoyle stands like a sentinel at what is there called "The Gate of the Highlands". The little valley which it protects teems with traditions of the dwarfs who are said to have once dwelt there, and whose dwellings are yet pointed out. Even yet the old people have many a tale of how the ruling family

¹ See *Rob Roy*, chap. xxviii, and Note G.

² This spelling is only tentative. On hearing it thus pronounced, a resident in that district corrected the pronunciation to *Doo'n*, or *Doo'an*, which may signify a quite different meaning from *Dūn*.

of Graham won their possessions there ; and one such tale is that which has just been spoken of, wherein a Graham (Earl of Men-teith) appears as the overlord of the dwarfs. That this family, properly *de Graeme*, traces its origin to those Anglo-Normans, such as Bruce and his chief nobles, who were the founders of the Neo-Scottish kingdom, is quite compatible with the idea that De Graeme's dwarfish labourers were, historically, Picts ; a race distinguished as the allies of the English and the enemies of Bruce.

Enough has now been said to illustrate what is really the test of the "realistic" theory of the fairy tales. Tradition has truly stated, during many generations, that such apparently-natural hillocks as Maes-how and Coldoch were inhabited by little people. All archæologists are agreed that many artificial hillocks are at present standing with their secrets unrevealed. But if, by following the lead of tradition, we find it a reasonably safe¹ guide to those primitive habitations, then its statements must deserve a much fuller and more serious consideration than they have ever yet received. Either the "realistic theory" is a vain imagination (as it is believed to be by those who take the "mythological" view of such traditions), or else it is something of the very greatest importance ; as others, of whom the present writer is one, believe it to be. Should this method of interpreting the past be proved a true one, the results which would flow from its acceptance would be far-reaching indeed. But tradition has yet to establish its right to be unquestionably regarded as a guide. It may be that every chambered mound already opened had long had its real nature foretold by the voice of local tradition. But the surest test of the authenticity of tradition lies in its future application. It is known to all archæologists in Western Europe that it is not necessary to go so far east as Mycenæ to find the chambered mound, with its dry-stone walls and "Pelasgic" arch. And tradition points to many a seeming "hillock",² and says that it, too, is a "treasure-house of Atreus".

¹ One would like to regard tradition as infallible in this respect. But, unfortunately, the age of the "sheeans" is so far back, that the term may now be used to denote any "conical hill", by Gaelic-speaking persons. However, a strong and persistent local tradition would far outweigh this modern misuse of the term *sithean*, in its general application, if such misuse (of which the dictionaries give a hint) is really common.

² The Continental examples are, of course, very numerous. In Denmark alone, according to J. M. Thiele, tradition points out as chambered mounds 'two hills, Mangelbjerg and Gillesbjerg, in the environs of Hirschholm, on Hösterkiøb Mark': "a hill called Wheel-hill, at Gudmandstrup, in the Lordship of Odd": "a large knoll called Steensbjerg, at Ourøe, near Joegerspriis": "the high ridge on which the church stands, at Kundebye, in the Bailiwick of

The question to be decided is, How far is tradition to be trusted ?
And the answer can be very easily obtained.

Holbeck"; and, in the same bailiwick, at a place between the towns of Mamp and Aagerup, "near the Strand": Gultebierg also supplies another to the list : while "between Jersløse and Söbierg, lies Söbierg bank, which is the richest knoll in the land." (For similar references in this neighbourhood, see also Mr. W. G. Black's *Heligoland*.) And Thorpe's *Northern Mythology* specifies many such mounds. M. Pol de Mont (in his Flemish *Volkskunde*, II, v, pp. 89-90) points out an "Aschberg", at Casterlé, in the province of Antwerp, which is said to have held fifty *bergmannetjes*, or hill-dwarfs. But every Continental "Venusberg", into which men of the taller race were tempted by the attractions of the dwarf women, and every "berg" that is affirmed to have been the residence of a "berg-fee", comes under the same denomination as the special examples already cited.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

THE CONDITIONS FOR THE SURVIVAL OF ARCHAIC CUSTOM.

THERE are, or were until quite recently, a great many customs observed in our rural parishes and in the less frequented portions of the country, the origin of which is not known to those who practise them. If a question were asked as to why these customs were observed on particular occasions or for particular objects, the almost invariable answer would have been, because they have always been observed.

In recent years it has been well recognised that it is worth studying these customs of unknown origin. As a consequence of such study one very important characteristic of local customs has been satisfactorily established, namely, that the vast majority of them are of considerable antiquity. As Edmund Spenser puts it in his remarkable account of Elizabethan Ireland, "It is the maner of many nations to be very superstitious and diligent observers of old customes and antiquities which they receive by continuous tradition from their parents, by recording of their bards and chroniclers, in their songs, and by daylie use and ensample of their elders."¹ This element of *continuous tradition*, spoken of by the celebrated poet, is the means by which very many modern observances of custom are proved to be survivals in practice of archaic custom; that is, while the act of constant observance is modern, in the sense that it is carried on in modern days, the actual custom which is the object of the act of constant observance is ancient. From this it will be seen that every custom may be divided, for purposes of scientific research, into two parts, each distinct from the other, namely, its observance at certain times or in certain places, and its form and characteristics.

Now, this proposition being accepted, it is not sufficient to collect together all the different local customs in various parts of the country, and to say that such a collection would represent the customs of the people in very early times, and that hence we have before us a picture of the life and condition of the earliest inhabitants of this country. Very much more than this is needed.

¹ Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 100.

In the first place, three different race-elements enter into the composition of our modern population—the Iberic, the Celtic, and the Teutonic ; besides which there are the Roman and Norman conquests, and all these must have influenced existing custom and introduced new custom. In the second place, custom which is now local was, if its origin can be taken beyond the political stage, in its earliest form tribal. In order, then, to satisfy ourselves of the identification of living custom with the custom of early ages, or, as I shall speak of it throughout these pages, archaic custom, we must trace back its genealogy in our own land as far as it will go ; we must compare it with the tribal practice of the non-advanced races ; and we must endeavour to find out whether its survival in any particular district, or in any particular form, helps to identify it as a descendant from a tribe or race which are known to have inhabited the district. It will not always be possible to carry out these requirements thoroughly, and links in the chain of argument will frequently be wanting. The very nature of survivals prepares us for such a contingency. But in such cases there are other considerations which will help us to the end in view ; and I would make the preliminary suggestion that it is worth while to state the case for even some incomplete examples, because we never know when, or how, independent inquiry may produce the very evidence which is wanting, if students have been made aware of some of the requirements which science demands at their hands.

A very considerable body of modern rural custom, relating to agricultural matters, has been identified as belonging to the primitive system of agricultural economy represented by the village community. When villagers of modern England have been discovered to assemble in their village court under a tree, by the side of a prehistoric monolith, on the top of an earthen mound, for the purpose of deciding the course of agriculture, the admittance of a new villager, the allotment of village lands, the election of officers ; when their methods of agriculture demand a yearly redistribution of lands by a quaint system of lots formed in various fashions from the twigs of certain trees or cut into the soft structure of an apple ; when their several duties to neighbour and community can only be expressed by the term communal ; when numerous incidental practices relating to these features of agricultural life have been noted, it is not surprising that the first attempt to identify living custom as the legitimate descendant of archaic custom should have resulted in its identification with the economical customs of the village community. But the self-same villagers who have thus

been proved to have brought down by traditional usage the customs of the primitive village community practise a vast number of other customs, often at the same time and in connection with the same agricultural events. *Primâ facie*, therefore, it seems proper to advance the argument that these coexisting customs come down from the same primitive original. But the present state of our knowledge does not enable us to rearrange the whole group of living custom with reference to its original home, to trace out the genealogy of each item of popular custom with the same precision as it is possible to trace out the genealogy of a word; and, therefore, studies in archaic custom do not attempt to unravel any particular stage of social development, but are more or less explanatory of totally different stages, often separated by wide periods of historic life. That the interstices may be filled up eventually by different scholars and by different methods is what I firmly believe. In the meantime there is one conclusion to which I may claim that researches into archaic custom constantly and consistently direct attention, namely, that the school of historical thought who would have us seek for the origin of our institutions in mediæval times, or in the highly developed institutions of the Roman empire, must account for the survival of the barbaric and even savage practices not in isolated and insignificant examples, but in sufficient force to have stamped themselves so strongly upon the history of the country as to demand an explanation of their presence. If Mr. Seebohm, dealing only with agricultural practices, identifies these with a state of things which was produced by Roman influences, to my mind it does not follow as a logical sequence that the English village community is of Roman origin. The English village community, like the village communities elsewhere, is made up of other elements in its structural formation than agricultural economy. If these other elements take us not to Roman institutions but to barbaric institutions, it is certainly a strong argument against considering that the origin of the English village community must be relegated to the Roman period, especially when we further consider that many of the agricultural practices which Mr. Seebohm has identified with Roman or Romano-barbaric practices are also to be identified as features of the primitive village community in places where there cannot be any question of its contact with Roman institutions. Accordingly, I would submit that the evidence of the survival of archaic customs is weighty enough to bid pause to those who argue that the early history of English institutions is either a continuation, under a new title, of the

history of Roman institutions, or is an offshoot from mediæval history.

In some papers which have already appeared in these pages we have dealt with the evidences of rude modes of reckoning kinship and rude forms of marriage, suggesting that in the customs of this country may be traced many of the practices of savage ancestors. To many readers such propositions are sufficiently startling to be at once dismissed as impossible, unless we can show good cause for the existence of savage ancestors. By a few scholars, Canon Isaac Taylor, Mr. Seebohm, M. de Coulanges, and others, any attempt which has been made to suggest that traces of totemism, polyandry, and other rude forms of tribal institutions can be found in modern custom, has been denounced not only as unproven but as unprovable. It seems desirable, therefore, to preface research into particular customs by some notice of the facts which show under what circumstances, and with what section of the people, these remnants of savage ancestry may have been kept up. That a period of savagery once existed in this country, as in all other lands, is not, I believe, seriously questioned. The only unsettled point is to what extent and for how long this period of savagery may have lasted. Those who believe in a highly developed Celtic civilisation throw back this period of savagery to a very far-off date, and draw a rigid line beyond which its influence could not have penetrated into succeeding ages. They see in a few passages from Cæsar, in the more than half-invented stories of Druidism, in the remains of early Christian Celtic art, evidence of a Celtic civilisation which had absorbed, or rather replaced, and utterly wiped out the older savagedom. But if the most recent of all historical sciences, namely, folk-lore, has done nothing else up to this date, it has demonstrated that civilisation under many of its phases, while elevating the governing class of a nation, and thereby no doubt elevating the nation, does not always reach the lowest or even the lower strata of the population. As Sir Arthur Mitchell puts it, "there is always a going up of some and a going down of others", and it is more than probable that just as the going up of the few is in one certain direction along certain well-ascertained lines of improvement or development, so the going down of the many is in an equally certain direction and along an equally well-ascertained line of degradation or backwardness. The upward march is always towards political improvement, carrying with it social development; the downward march is always towards social degradation, carrying with it political backwardness. It seems

difficult indeed to believe that monarchs like Ælfred, Eadward, William, and Edward could have had within their Christianised kingdom groups of people whose status was still that of savagery; it seems difficult to believe that Raleigh and Spenser actually beheld some specimens of the Irish savage; it seems impossible to read Kemble and Green and Freeman, and yet to understand that they are speaking only of the advanced guard of the English nation, not of the backward races within the boundary of its island home. The student of archaic custom has, however, to meet these difficulties, and it seems necessary, therefore, to try and arrive at some idea as to what the period of savagery in these islands really means.

For this object it will be necessary to requote some well-known passages from classical authorities, and to compare them with the statements of later writers. Many of the passages have been bitterly assailed, but it will do no good at this juncture to turn to questions of textual criticism, or to evidences of personal credence attachable to each authority. These will be met by other methods: first, by the fact that the early recorded evidences of savage practices in Britain do not supply any customs but what are to be paralleled among savage practices elsewhere than in Britain or in Europe; and it is impossible to believe that human ingenuity could be charged with such a phenomenon as the invention by different authors, at different times, of a whole group of customs which have their analogues in actual life, and there is no room in these cases for the borrowing theory; secondly, by the fact that later custom, recorded by witnesses whose veracity is beyond question, fits in exactly with what has been recorded in earlier times. It is, indeed, the correlation of these two bodies of custom which forms the best and surest test of the value of researches like the present.

In gathering together some evidence which will illustrate the duration of the period of savagery in these islands, it will not be necessary to produce a long array of savage practices in Britain, because some of the most significant of these have already been considered in connection with distinct phases of archaic custom, such as totemism and polyandry. The main thing to bring into relief, for our present limited purpose, is that any definite set of customs, however barbarous they may appear, however far back their genealogy may take us, have a *raison d'être* for their long continuance in the long continuance of the status of savagery in some parts of the country; that if these sets of customs tell us of the condition of

our savage ancestors in one particular or another, more perfect, perhaps, because of their connection with tribal institutions, there are other customs which tell us of other particulars of the savage state, less perfect, perhaps, because of their connection with domestic arts and usages.

Ancient authorities speak of Ireland as the abode of savages pure and simple, and we need not accept literally their descriptions of the condition of the people in order to arrive at a fairly just estimate of the savage state of society. Diodorus alludes to the Britons who inhabit Irin as cannibals (lib. v). Strabo (iv) says of Hibernia that "its inhabitants are wilder than the Britons, and that they feed on human flesh and devour a large quantity of food, and deem it honourable to eat the bodies of their deceased parents, and to cohabit publicly, not only with other women, but also with their mothers and sisters." Pomponius Mela says "that they are ignorant of every virtue". Solinus says of Hibernia, "It is inhuman in the rough manners of its inhabitants, who are inhospitable and warlike, the conquerors in any contest first drinking the blood of their enemies and then besmearing their faces therewith. Whenever a woman brings forth a male child she puts his first food on the sword of her husband, and lightly introduces the first 'auspici-um' of nourishment into his mouth with the point of the sword, and expresses a wish that he may never meet death otherwise than in war and amid arms. They sail in wicker vessels, which they cover all round with ox-hides." The charge of cannibalism is repeated by St. Jerome, who in his second book against Jovinian says, "*Quid loquar de cæteris nationibus, cum ipse adolescentulus in Gallia viderim Scotos gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus? et cum per sylvas porcorum greges et armentorum pecudumque reperirent, pastorum nates fœminarumque papillas abscindere solitos et eas solas delicias arbitrari.*"¹

Mr. Hyde Clarke remarks that "the formation of Ireland, cut up by bays and estuaries, is very favourable for the preservation on its wide coast of remnants of ancient populations. These are preserved in restricted areas and in very small numbers when geographical or other limitations check intermarriage."² This helps us to understand the account of Giraldus Cambrensis, in the reign of Henry II, of some Connaught men. He states that he heard some sailors relate how they were driven by a storm to the northern islands, and while taking shelter there they saw a small boat rowing

¹ Cf. Giles, *Hist. Anc. Britons*, i, 66; *Ulster Journ. Arch.*, viii.

² *Roy. Irish Acad.*, x, 102.

towards them. It was narrow and oblong, and made of wattled boughs covered and sewn with the hides of beasts. In it were two men naked, except that they wore broad belts of the skins of some animal round their loins. They had yellow hair like the Irish, falling below their shoulders and covering the greater part of their bodies. The sailors found that these men came from some part of Connaught and spoke the Irish language. They were astonished at the ships they saw, and explained that in their own country they knew nothing of these things.¹

A traveller among people thus described is exactly on a par with the modern traveller among native races of uncivilised lands. The latter might very frequently see in the native villages or hut-dwellings "young maids stark naked grinding of corn with certain stones to make cakes thereof," the absence of clothing, the use of two stones for crushing the corn, both being indicative of the savage state of culture. And yet the above fact is related of the maidens of Cork in 1603, by the traveller Fynes Moryson, who alleges in support of his statement, that "I have seen [them] with these eyes".² An Italian priest travelling in Armagh is reported to have made a Latin distich upon the nakedness of the women.³ But an even more startling picture is related by the same author, of a Bohemian nobleman who, travelling in Ulster, was regaled by the chief, O'Kane. "He was met at the door with sixteen women, all naked except their loose mantles; whereof eight or ten were very fair and two seemed very nymphes; with which strange sight his eyes being dazzled they led him into the house, and there sitting down by the fire, with crossed legs like tailors and so low as could not but offend chaste eyes, desired him to sit down with them. Soon after O'Kane, the lord of the country, came in all naked, excepting a loose mantle and shoes which he put off as soon as he came in, and entertaining the baron in his best manner in the Latin tongue, desired him to put off his apparel which he thought to be a burden to him."⁴

Spenser describes, about the same time as Moryson, the loose mantles of the women,⁵ which must have borne a most unmistakable resemblance to those of the Toda women of the Nilgiri Hills in India. These people are described as wearing but a simple robe thrown over both shoulders and clasped in front by the hand, and

¹ *Topography of Ireland*, lib. iii, cap. xxvi.

² *History of Ireland*, ii, 372.

⁴ Moryson's *Travels*, p. 181.

⁵ *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

which are often thrown open to the full extent of both arms for the purpose of readjusting on the shoulders.¹

When William Lithgow was in Ireland in 1619, he records that he "saw women travelling or toiling at home, carrying their infants about their necks, and, laying their dugs over their shoulders, would give suck to their babes behind their backs without taking them in their arms. Such kind of breasts . . . [were] more than half a yard long."² Such a sight has been frequently witnessed by modern travellers among savage races. Thus the Beiará women of New Britain carry their children "on their back in a bag of network which is suspended from their forehead by a band; their breasts are so excessively elongated that they can sling them across their shoulders to enable the babe to take hold of the nipple without changing its position."³ The Tasmanian women carried "their children wrapped in a kangaroo skin which hung behind their backs, and to suckle them it was only necessary to throw their breasts, which were excessively elongated, over their shoulders."⁴

The Irish sleeping arrangements are thus described: "They sleep under the canopy of heaven, or in a poor house of clay, or in a cabin made of the boughs of trees and covered with turf, for such are the dwellings of the very lords among them. And in such places they make a fire in the midst of the room, and round about it they sleep upon the ground, without straw or other thing under them, lying all in a circle about the fire with their feet towards it. And their bodies being naked they cover their heads and upper parts with their mantles."⁵

The "Laban an Oultagh", or Ulsterman's Bed, was not uncommon in the early part of this century. It is a bed of straw in a small room covering the whole floor, in which the husband and wife, and oftentimes a guest or two, sleep. Mr. Paterson of Kilrush called very early one morning at the house of a boatman to send him to Limerick, and found the door open. He went towards the "Laban" to inquire for the man, whose wife, a handsome young woman, answered that he had gone to the boat. While she was speaking, Mr. Paterson saw a man fast asleep among the children between her and the wall; and asking, "what the deuce brought him there?" she replied, with unconcern, that he was an uncle's son of Paddy's, who came to see them the night

¹ Col. King's *Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills*, p. 9.

² Lithgow's *Travels*, p. 40.

³ Featherman's *Races of Mankind*, ii, 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁵ Fynes Moryson, *Hist. of Ireland*, ii, 377-78.

before. The farmers have a kind of bed generally by the fireside, called a "Callentine". It is enclosed by four straw mats, with a small doorway for entrance.¹

Their method of cooking closely resembled the practices of savage people. Their milk was "warmed with a stone first cast into the fire",² and "pieces of flesh, also the entrails of beasts unwashed, they seethe in a hollow tree lapped in a raw cow's hide, and so set over the fire."³

They partook of their food in open encampments "upon a bundle of grass", as Fynes Moryson puts it.⁴ This is exactly the practice described by Diodorus and Strabo.⁵

Turning to Scotland, Herodian (iii, 14) and Dion Cassius have described some wild barbarians of the North, which Mr. Elton considers to be a pre-Celtic race. They were naked and tattooed; living by hunting, herbs, fruit, nuts, and even the bark of trees in the forest.⁶ At the time of the Roman invasion there was still a naked people in the North. A stone discovered in 1868 on the farm of Arniebog, in the parish of Cumbernauld, presents a sculptured form of a captive, and thus, says Dr. Buchanan, "affords a portrait by Roman hands of a native Briton. He is naked, on one knee, with his hands tied behind his back as if ready for decapitation."⁷ Another Roman sculptured stone, discovered at Bridgeness, near Carriden, Linlithgowshire, represents a group of four captive Britons, one of whom is a woman. "All are naked. Behind them is a Roman soldier, on a stallion, fully armed, galloping among and slaying the captives."⁸ Another Roman stone, found in Scotland, represents two Caledonian natives both naked, and with their arms tied behind their backs.⁹

St. Jerome (*Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. xcix) affirms that the Attacotti who inhabited Scotland were cannibals. In describing the prehistoric remains of Caithness, Mr. Laing mentions a midden in which, in the midst of a mass of limpet-shells, and broken jaws, and bones of animals, he found the fragment of a human lower jaw—that of a child about six years of age. No trace of any other human bone was found with it, and coupling it, says Mr.

¹ Mason's *Statistical Account of Ireland*, ii, 456.

² Fynes Moryson, *Hist. of Ireland*, ii, 375.¹

³ *Ibid.*, 373; Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 49.

⁴ *Hist. of Ireland*, ii, 377.

⁵ Diodorus, lib. v, c. 2.

⁶ Elton, *Origins*, 169-70.

⁷ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, ix, 473.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 476.

⁹ [*Caledonia Romana*, 2nd edit., pl. ix]; Mitchell's *Past in the Present*, 247; cf. Gordon's *Itin.*, plate ii.

Laing, with the fact of another isolated fragment of human jaw having been found in another midden, both under circumstances precisely similar to those of the deer, pigs, and oxen by which they were surrounded, it raises a strong presumption that these aboriginal savages were occasionally cannibals.¹ A large proportion of the remains of the larger animals had been young, as shown by the presence of the milk-teeth, which may lead to the inference that with such very imperfect weapons the savages could seldom succeed in killing an adult. On the whole, the diet of this people seems to have been very like that of the savages of Tierra del Fuego, so admirably described by Darwin in his *Voyage of a Naturalist*.²

Gordon, in 1726, relates that he had seen "curroughs in Scotland, but never of a larger size than to admit the ferryman and one single passenger on his shoulders".³

Sir Archur Mitchell having noted one or two of the customs of savagery in Scotland and Ireland, says he does not consider he would be wrong in saying he could find illustrations quite as telling in England: "If they have not been found there it is probably because they have not been looked for."⁴ We turn first to the classical authorities.

Cæsar is witness to the fact that the Britons tattooed themselves like the modern savage: "Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt quod cæruleum efficit colorem atque hoc horridore sunt in pugna aspectu" (lib. v, cap. 14); and the expressions used by other classical writers bear out this statement—"Infectos Britannos", "virides Britannos", "cæruleis Britannis", "pictis Britannis", "flavis Britannis", "cæruleos scuta Brigantes".⁵

Strabo and Diodorus Siculus state the Gaulish Britons were head-hunters. The successful warrior slung his enemy's head at his saddle-bow, and the chiefs had their houses adorned with skulls of their enemies nailed up against the porch.⁶

On the tessellated pavements at Lydney Park, in Gloucestershire, are figured some British fishermen paddling in little coracles about the mouth of the Severn.⁷

¹ Laing and Huxley's *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³ Gordon's *Itinerarium*, 145.

⁴ *The Past in the Present*, p. 279.

⁵ Propertius, lib. ii, 18; Ovid, *De Amore*, ii, 16; Martial, lib. xi, 54; xiv, 99; Lucan, lib. iii; Seneca, *De Claudio*. Cf. P. Mela, lib. iii, cap. 6; Herodian, lib. iii, 14.

⁶ Strabo, iv, 302; Diod. Sic., v, 29. Cf. Elton's *Origins*, 112.

⁷ King's *Roman Antiq. at Lydney Park*; Rhys, *Nature*, 24th July 1879.

"To this day, in the country districts [of Cornwall], kitchen-stoves, and, indeed, coal-fires of any sort, are hardly known. The fuel is commonly dried furze, which is burned either in an earthen oven or on a wide, open hearth. It is thrown on, piece by piece, with a pitchfork, till the iron plate on which the baking is to be done is considered hot enough; then the plate is swept clean, and the cakes—biscuits, as they are termed—or pasties having been ranged in order upon it, an iron vessel, shaped somewhat like a flower-pot, is turned over them, the furze is again piled on, and a large heap of glowing embers raked over all. No further attention is paid to the cooking; but when the embers are cold, the things are done."¹

From such facts as these it would appear that the savage condition which is borne witness to by early authorities has been continued in these islands in little patches of savage life to far within historical times.

Certainly the border-land between Scotland and England cannot be said to have become civilised until late down in history. Redesdale, says Dr. Robertson, was, until quite recently, a very secluded valley surrounded by moors and morasses, and occupied to a great extent by shaggy woods. Until all-conquering Rome planted her standard in its centre, Redesdale must have been singularly inaccessible to the outer world. After the Roman domination came to an end the district seems to have remained undisturbed by Saxon from the east or Northman from the west. In their sylvan fortresses the inhabitants held their own, nay, for many generations did much more, harrying and robbing their more peaceful neighbours. Redesdale being a regality, with a resident lord of the manor supreme for centuries, it was found that the king's writ runneth not in Redesdale. Until the time of Bernard Gilpin, the thieves, that is, the men of Redesdale, were probably hardly Christians, even by profession. Their clergy and instructors are described by Bishop Fox in 1498 as wholly ignorant of letters, the priest of ten years' standing not knowing how to read the ritual. In this community of men, ignorant, dissolute, accustomed to crime, debarred by laws made specially against them from mixing freely with their neighbours, having only slight connection with the world beyond their own morass-girt vale, and intermarrying amongst themselves, it may be expected that old customs and superstitions lingered doubtless longer than elsewhere.² I will now quote a

¹ *Chambers's Journal*, 5th July 1884.

² *Berwickshire Naturalists' Field Club*, ix, 512. "Tradition, without being supported by any historical authority, says that the square keep or tower of

curious account of a savage people once existing in Wales, from information collected from the locality for a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* :—

"I learn from a letter which I have received, that 'there is a certain red-haired, athletic race about Cayo and Pencarreg, in Carmarthenshire, called *Cochion* (the Red ones). The principal personage in the pedigrees of the district is Meirig Goch, or Meirig the Red, from whom many families trace their descent. The *Cochion* of Pencarreg were in former days noted for their personal strength and pugnacity at the fairs of the country, where sometimes they were not only a terror to others, but to each other when there were none else left with whom they could contend.' From another letter, written by a person residing in a different part of the country, and who wrote quite independently of the former, I learn that 'the race of people referred to lived about 70 or 80 years ago, in the parishes of Cemaes and Mallwyd, the former in this county, and the latter in Merionethshire. They were called "Y Gwyllied Cochion". Gwyllied, according to Richards of Coychurch, in his *Thesaurus*, are "spirits, ghosts, hobgoblins", and Gwyll, a hag or fairy. "Red fairies" would, I suppose, be the best translation. They were strong men, and lived chiefly on plunder. In some old cottages in Cemaes there are scythes put in the chimneys, to prevent the entrance of the depredators, still to be seen.' In a subsequent letter I was informed: 'On further inquiry, I find that the "Gwyllied Cochion" can be traced back to the year 1554, when they were a strong tribe, having their head-quarters near Dinas (city) Mallwyd, Merionethshire. They were most numerous in 'Coed y Dugod Mawr' (literally the "wood of the great dark, or black wood"). Coed (wood) occurring twice, is a very common Welsh idiom. They built no houses, and practised but few of the arts of civilised life. They possessed great powers over the arrow and the stone, and never missed their mark. They had a chief of their own appointment, and kept together in the most tena-

Crawley was built by a famous 'Rider' called Crawley; hence the place got its name. The tower was, at an after period, the residence of the family of Harrowgate, of one of whom many anecdotes are yet extant, and amongst others is the following: Mr. Harrowgate possessed a remarkably fine, white horse, for he was not behind his neighbours in making excursions north of the Cheviot, and the then proprietor of the Crawley estate took so great a fancy to this beautiful charger, that, after finding he could not tempt Harrowgate to sell him for money, he offered him the whole of this fine estate in exchange for his horse; but Mr. H., in the true spirit of a border rider, made him this bold reply: 'I can find lands when I have use for them; but there is no sic a beast (*i.e.*, horse) i' yon side o' the Cheviot, nor yet o' this, and I wad na part wi' him if Crawley were made o' gold.' How little did the value of landed property appear in those days of trouble and inquietude, and how much less were the comfort of succeeding generations consulted? The only property of value then to a borderer was his trusty arms, and a fleet and active horse, and these seem to have been the only things appreciated by this old gentleman." (*Denham Tracts*, 17.)

cious manner, having but little intercourse with the surrounding neighbourhood, except in the way of plundering, when they were deemed very unwelcome visitors. They would not hesitate to drive away sheep and cattle, in great numbers, to their dens. A Welsh correspondent writes to me thus: "They would not scruple to tax (*trethu*) their neighbours in the face of day, and treat all and everything as they saw fit; till at last John Wynn ap Meredydd and Baron Owen were sent for, who came with a strong force on Christmas night, 1534, and destroyed by hanging upwards of 100 of them. There is a tradition that some of the women were pardoned, and a mother begged very hard to have her son spared, but, on being refused, she opened her breast, and said that it had nursed sons who would yet wash their hands in Baron Owen's blood! Bent on revenge, they watched the Baron carefully, and on his going to Montgomery Sessions, they waylaid him, and actually fulfilled the old woman's prediction. This place is called to this day *Llidiart y Barwn* (the Baron's gate), and the tradition is *quite fresh* in the neighbourhood." He says that the "*Dugod mawr*" has disappeared long since, and the county is much less woody than it was centuries ago. But as you, I presume, are more anxious to have some traces of the characteristics of the *race* than a history of their actions, I have made inquiries on that head, and I find that the Gwyllied were a tall, athletic race, with red hair, something like the Patagonians of America. They spoke the Welsh language. I was fortunate enough to find out some descendants of the Gwyllied on the maternal side, and those in my native parish of Llangurig (on the way from Aberystwith to Rhayader). When these Welsh Caffirs were sent from Mallwyd they wandered here and there, and some of the females were pitied by the farmers and taken into their houses and taught to work, and one of these was married to a person not far from this place, and the descendants now live at Bwlchgarreg Llangurig. I knew the old man well. There certainly was something peculiar about him—he was about 70 when I was a boy of 15; he had dark, lank hair, a very ruddy skin, with teeth much projecting, and a receding brow. I never heard his honesty questioned, but mentally he was considered very much below the average; the children also are not considered quick in anything. They do not like to be taunted with being of the "Red Blood", I am told. I never knew till lately that they were in any way related to the Gwyllied."

Further east, in the Cambridgeshire fens, we have just such another picture. We are told that the "labourers are much less industrious and respectable than in many counties. In the fens it is easily accounted for: they never see the inside of a church, or anyone on a Sunday but the alehouse society. Upon asking my way (towards the evening) in the fens, I was directed, with this observation from the man who informed me, 'Are you not afraid to go past the bankers at work yonder, sir?' I was told these bankers

were little better than savages."¹ As evidence of how little influence upon the less frequented parts of the country great political events have exercised, we may cite a most telling example in Sussex. There is much to show that the silence of *Domesday* upon the district of the Weald is due to the fact that William's agents did not penetrate into these wilds, and a few years ago two distinguished geologists travelling there were startled by hearing a Sussex labourer speaking of William the Conqueror as "Duke William", and that, too, within sight of Senlac.²

These examples, drawn from many sources, might perhaps be considered as the inexact and incidental notices cropping up in literature without any distinct purpose or value; but not only do they serve to direct attention to the means by which archaic custom has been kept alive, but they are confirmed by direct parallels in archaeological discovery. Thus, General Pitt-Rivers, describing the site of his excavations at Cranborne, on the borders of Wilts and Dorset, points out that the southern slopes of the Wiltshire downs contain large tracts which retain their original forest character. This region, "strengthened by the dense forests which covered Dorsetshire, appears throughout the early history of these islands to have served as a standing point for first established races in resisting succeeding waves of immigration from the east. Here the abundance of long barrows shows that the neolithic folk, of presumably Iberian origin, congregated in large numbers. Here the Goidels, or earliest wave of the Celtic population, are shown by Professor Rhys to have resisted the succeeding wave of Brythons coming from the same quarter. Here also, Mr. Green has shown, in his *Making of England*, the West Welsh, of whatever ethnic elements they may have been composed, withstood the Saxons for a long time after the latter had penetrated as far as Wilton."³ Here, too, the barbarous rights and privileges of Cranborne Chase preserved intact almost the primitive forest land which sheltered the first inhabitants of Britain. But the most important fact of all is in the discovery, by General Pitt-Rivers, of the skeletons of a remarkably small race of people, most probably the survivors of the neolithic population who lived to cross swords with the Romans, perhaps with the Saxons, and who stood their ground in this unconquered region, leaving to archaeologists the record of their fight in the curious grouping of the skeletons in the main ditch,

¹ Gooch's *Agriculture of Cambridgeshire*, 289.

² *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, iii, 52.

³ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, xv.

and the certain mark of a deep sword-cut in the head of a child-skeleton. Surely the archæology of Southern Wilts may join hands with the history of Cambridgeshire fens, Northamptonshire forests, Welsh hills, and Border valleys, and help us to realise that an older stratum of culture was kept up by the outlawed dwellers of these inaccessible districts; and that whether they received into their fold from time to time the discontented of each succeeding age, whether it be Hereward the Berseker, Robin Hood the forest-robber, or Sir Ensor Doone the pillager, the new-comers insensibly sank to the level of culture with which their new occupation and their new comrades must have surrounded them. It has before now been suggested that the tattooing of Jack Tar is the survival of original tribal practices kept up by a caste; that as the caste received new members the new members had to conform to caste practices, and that hence, although the character of the original group has thus altered from the tribal representatives of an ethnic stock to the accepted membership of a caste, the original ethnic practices have lived on just the same. The suggestion is a valuable one, and accounts for much that is not quite clear in archaic custom.

We have now examined some of the conditions under which archaic custom, originating in the savage state, may have survived to within historical times. I make no pretence that this evidence is complete, but it is sufficient to indicate the basis of such researches as the science of folk-lore leads us to undertake. Before however, finishing our examination of the conditions under which survival of archaic custom can be accounted for, it may be well to touch upon one important characteristic of tribal society.

It enables us to suggest some considerations against the present intensely local aspect of custom. In early society, law was not local but personal; there was, in fact, no such thing as *lex loci*. Thus, Mr. J. D. Mayne points out that in India, when any "family migrates to another province, governed by another law, it carries its own law with it . . . and this rule would apply as much to matters of succession to land as to their purely personal relations."¹ The truth is that this *personal* aspect of law has been wholly, or almost wholly, overlooked by our historians, and yet it was in full force at the time of the overthrow of the Roman empire in Europe. Mr. Story, in his work on the *Conflict of Laws*, says, "While the conquerors, the Goths, Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, maintained their own laws, and usages, and customs over their own race, they silently or expressly allowed each of the

¹ *Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 37.

racés over whom they obtained an absolute sovereignty to regulate their own private rights and affairs according to their own municipal jurisprudence"; and Savigny, in his *History of the Roman Law in the Middle Ages*, after pointing out the same state of things, quotes a passage from Bishop Agobardus' epistle to Louis le Débonnaire, in which he says, "It often happens that five men, each under a different law, may be found walking or sitting together." Many traces exist of a sharp distinction in the population between separate races, and in the early laws an Englishman and a Welshman are always distinguished. The charters of Malcolm of Scotland are addressed to Franks, Angles, Scots, and British or Galivenses, and such a fact shows clearly the late survival of tribal custom.

Summarising the results of our examination into the conditions under which the survival of archaic custom has taken place in the British Islands, it appears that two very distinct strata of early society may be detected in the population. The older, or as I have hitherto termed it, for the sake of emphasis, the savage state, represents, so far as it is possible to form an opinion, the non-Aryan aboriginal people, ever pushed back by the later advancing races into inaccessible fastnesses, dense forest, or morass lands, wherever the outskirts of settled life have been formed. This stage was kept up in later times, not, of course, by race-elements, but by the outcasts from political advancement—the "broken men" of all periods resorting to the old centres of uncivilised life, and there keeping alive customs and practices which, in their origin, were due to savage ancestors. Everything that we know of the Aryan and his modes of life and thought, precludes us from supposing that he could have adopted in Britain practices which, elsewhere, are only to be identified with non-Aryans. Mr. Elton has lent the sanction of his great authority to this method of interpreting some of the rudest customs which were extant among the peasantry in some parts of the country until comparatively recent times; and my re-examination of the evidence on different lines confirms this view. The later strata of early society represents the tribal or Aryan stage, ever being worked upon by the growing progress of political development, which transformed tribes into localities and tribal custom into local custom. It is not surprising that this should be somewhat less apparent in survival than the savage state, because political society has grown out of tribal, and has therefore never left the tribe to itself, while it has deliberately ignored, when it has not rooted out, the savage hordes. Still

it seems impossible that the complicated tribal system, with its intermixed kinships and its agglomeration of constantly hostile clans, could have settled down into territorial units without leaving the marks of such a process stamped upon the land. The local unit is but the fossilised form of the tribal unit; and by the right interpretation of local phenomena we may learn much of the tribal originals. In some districts the hand of the central political authority, which is the machinery that has been at work upon the old tribal system, has been less heavy and crushing than in other districts, and we can thereby detect some stages in the transition. When, therefore, we are dealing with the survivals in Britain of *traditional* practices, we may interpret them as belonging to either a savage status or a tribal status; and we know by this preliminary inquiry that the channels by which these two great epochs of archaic custom have drifted down to modern observation are both broad enough and deep enough for the purpose. Modern civilisation is so present with us in every walk of life, we are so conscious of every step of advance, political or social, that the old unconscious progress of a people seems far enough off from modern days. But, after all, civilisation of any advanced type is only the product of three or four centuries in Britain, and we do well to ask ourselves something of the life which lies at the back of that civilisation, and has existed for untold centuries. For aught history tells us to the contrary, the crust of civilisation built up by Christianity, and the political forces arising out of the shattered elements of the Roman empire, was very thin, and beneath it was the solid stratum of traditional barbarism which even now is not rooted out. The evidence that I have touched upon in this paper gives us an opportunity of estimating what the chances are that the traditional superstitions and practices of the unlettered peasantry have descended from the earliest times, before the dawn of civilisation.

G. L. GOMME.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CINQUE PORTS CHARTERS.

THE appearance of Mr. J. H. Round in the list of writers upon the Cinque Ports is very welcome. Nothing is more desirable than that the history of this most interesting institution should receive the attention of antiquaries; and as the latest writer on the subject, as well as the first to attempt a history of a great community, I cannot but rejoice that an opportunity is thus afforded for expanding any portion of it which has been too much condensed. The limitations incident to one of a series of "Historic Towns" formed a serious drawback to the success of an undertaking which required at least double the space to do it ordinary justice. As it was, the history of fifteen corporate towns and twenty-four non-corporate towns and villages, besides their general history as a joint confederacy largely concerned with the destinies of England, had to be ruthlessly compressed into 254 pages of large type in a small octavo volume. Not that the portion which Mr. Round criticises is that from which I had to cut out the largest part of what I originally wrote; but it may be safely said that it is the most difficult portion, and that which requires to be most strongly fortified.

I have now to thank Mr. Round for the way in which he has spoken of my book, and to meet his objections to my statement of the antiquity of the Confederation. I am glad to see that he does not find fault with my account of the early history of each separate Port, in which the historian has to grope very much in the dark, but only with my following the received account—chiefly based on Edward I's charter—of the Ports having been chartered as a Confederation by Edward the Confessor. This, indeed, had already been disputed on the ground that no such charter has survived; and I was much tempted, when obliged to compress to such an extent, to give no opinion at all upon it; but the more I examined the question, the more I felt inclined to agree with the old local writers who never supposed there could be any doubt on the subject. That the charter of Henry II, which we know about from those of his sons, has no more survived than

those of his predecessors, has always seemed to me an argument of some weight.

Mr. Round conceives that the act of confederation must be dated much later than Edward, since he thinks he has found so close an analogy between the Cinque Ports and the communes of North France, especially of Picardy, that we must not look back further than the time of their institution, the period of Louis VI and Suger, which was contemporary with that of our Henry I. "The Cinque Ports corporation," he says, "was of foreign origin, and was an offshoot of the communal movement in North France." He summarises his argument under five heads.

1. The negative. "There is no parallel to the Cinque Ports Confederation in England, but there is in Picardy"—*i.e.*, of the date above-named, and of the sort mentioned by Thierry—"confederations of several villages or hamlets united in municipalities under one collective charter and magistracy." This is, I venture to think, a feeble analogy. In the one case we have an attempt to meet the difficulty of governing a number of little communities, each of which was too small to receive separate municipal government. In the other we have a body of powerful corporations banded together to perform national offices, civil and military. Further, is Mr. Round right in rejecting the Confederation of the Five Boroughs as an English example, because we do not "know its character"? Each of them appears to have had a representative character of its own, besides a common court of justice, and we know something about the twelve law-men in each of them; and even the fact that twelve burgesses from Leicester attended Edward the Confessor has some significance. The institution which had largely influenced English affairs could hardly have passed out of memory, and may well have been taken as an example of five boroughs like the Cinque Ports, forming a confederacy for certain purposes. But this is not intended as a serious argument. "No amount of analogy between two systems can by itself prove the actual derivation of one from another." (Stubbs, *Constitutional History*.)

2. The second argument is based on the words "Cinque" and "Serement" (the Warden's oath) being French, and Mr. Round quotes against me my own statement that the expression "five Cinque Ports and two Ancient Towns" was technically correct. I quite admit that this curious phrase shows that "Cinque" was the older title—but older than what?—older than the addition of Winchelsea and Rye, effected by Henry II, the mention of whose Cinque Port charters by his sons suggests, from its form, that they

were speaking of something long established. The earliest title is Norman-French, but there is nothing in this to diminish its antiquity, if we do not go back further than Edward the Confessor's reign. I have taken some pains to show how the half-Norman king, the ward of Normandy up to middle age, the man who evidently meant the Norman duke to succeed him, deliberately placed the New Borough of Hastings, as well as Winchelsea and Rye, under a Norman abbot, with a view to strengthen the connection of the two countries before he died; and nothing is more likely than that he should grant his charter to the Confederation under a Norman name. Even if his charter did not assign the name, it would have been given by William; but if we are to look for a later date of confederation than this, it would seem natural, when two new towns were added to a body which had only just been constituted, that "cinque" should have been changed to "sept". Nothing of the sort happened. The name had been too long established. It could only now be "the five Cinque Ports and two ancient towns".

3. The third argument consists of two parts: (*a*) that the absence of the "Merchant Guild" and of "Aldermen" detaches the Ports from English, and so far assimilates them to French, communes, of which (*b*) they possessed the typical constitution in a mayor and twelve jurats. Now with regard to (*a*), as London shared with the Cinque Ports the absence of a Merchant Guild, it follows that London is as much indebted to French example as the Ports. But that is hardly admissible. The "mayor" (or, rather, the bailiff, which preceded the mayor) and "jurats" are no doubt Norman, but it does not follow that the Ports were modelled on French examples, for, as Mr. Round candidly admits, the towns are not styled "communes", nor does the name "jurats" apply, as in the French case, to the members of the community generally, but only to the twelve jurats or magistrates. This last is an essential difference, and cannot be neglected. It seems to me that we have only to accept the usual explanation of the Conquest policy, that the Normans introduced French names for English things where the lordship of the king, the Primate, or the Abbot of Fécamp, over communities which were in close contact with Normandy, made it possible and desirable. They changed nothing which had a strong existing position, such as the borough system, with its customals and its privileged men, whom they called "barons", but who differed in nothing from the burghers or freemen of other towns. The jurats were superior to the barons, who were all "jurati" in fact, but not so termed. Thus, both in what the

Normans found and did not alter, as well as in what they introduced afresh, we find a marked difference between the Cinque Ports and the French communes. Their treatment of the case is analogous to their conduct in the larger sphere of the shires and shire-motes. The shire became the county, the shire-mote the county court; but they never changed the "sheriff" into a "bailiff", probably because the institution of the shire-reeve was too complex and too deeply rooted for such treatment. As a matter of fact, "jurats" are found not only at the Cinque Ports but at Maidstone, Gravesend, Queenborough, Romney Marsh, and at other ports which became Members of the Cinque Ports long after the latest date proposed for the confederation. So also with the title of "baron". We find it in the case of several of these Members applied generally to "freemen", as at the Cinque Ports, but with no tradition or mark whatever of the title being adopted in consequence of membership—though, indeed, it is possible that it might have been so. But the case of Tenterden rather goes to show that membership did not convey the title as a matter of course, for Queen Elizabeth expressly granted it to the Corporation. We may well expect, however, that the progress of modern research will throw light upon all these matters.

4. The fourth argument is derived from the similarity between the Warden of the Cinque Ports and the *Sénéchal*, *Prévôt*, or *Bailli du Roi* in the clusters of French Communes. Here, again, I venture to think that the difference is so vital as to throw out all idea even of analogy, much more of derivation. I have given in my book many indications of the Warden being an officer appointed subsequently to the commencement of the Cinque Ports system. It is, indeed, probable enough that Godwin, Harold, and Odo did, in succession, exercise some sort of supervision over these ports; it could hardly be otherwise; but the very earliest notices we have of a Warden who is also a Constable of Dover Castle, disclose him not as a Bailiff, Provost, or Seneschal, but as one of the greatest officers of the kingdom, appointed to maintain the liberties of the Ports, to act as a mediator between them and the King, to see they did the duties for which they were franchised, and to be a Judge upon appeal. The annual meetings of the Ports' representatives under their "Speaker", at which they dealt with all questions of taxation and Crown-service, were absolutely independent of the Warden, who only presided at the Judicial Court of Shepway, taken latterly to Dover. The oath he had to take to preserve the Cinque Ports liberties is itself an indication of the precedence of those

liberties ; and if, as is supposed, his functions were coeval with the Conqueror, or even only with his sons, the name "Serement", given to this oath, would be the natural one. We know that the Conquest was followed by a great rush of foreigners into the English commercial towns which were more immediately accessible, and the French designations of officers and offices came as a matter of course, without obliging us to refer them for their origin to any particular French model which is supposed to have originated those names and functions.

5. The fifth argument rests on the similarity in North France and England of the punishment for refusing the office of "Mayor or Jurat", viz., the "demolition of the communal house". This, indeed, gives the title to the article ; but the only instance alleged is that of Amiens, and it seems a slender foundation for Mr. Round's superstructure. In no other Customals has he found this penalty, though due for other offences, attached to refusal of office. Nor did the penalty attach at the Cinque Ports to any one of them except Sandwich, as regarded Jurats. The Bailiff or Mayor alone suffered at the other Ports, but at some of them not to the extent of having his house pulled down, but only by ejection and sealing up of the house. So that there is not much left of the "foreign origin".

Let me conclude with a mild remonstrance against the disrespect shown in the above arguments to Edward I's charter of 1278. Some of the charters of Edward I have been regarded with suspicion on the ground of their being founded on those returned to Writs of Quo Warranto in such great numbers that they could not have possessed any high authority. But, as I have pointed out, this particular charter bears most evident marks of the special authority of the king, who had been intimately, too intimately for his peace, concerned with the Ports for many years. The largely increased franchises, and the references to matters connected with the recent civil war, speak for themselves. Mr. Round will also allow me to point out that he does not state the whole case, in the note with which he concludes his article, when he tells us that the words do not even "necessarily imply" that Edward the Confessor gave a charter to the Cinque Ports. "The allusion", he says, "to the liberties the Ports possessed in the days of Edward [the Confessor] and his successors might well be taken from such a charter as that of Henry II to Lincoln, in which he grants to the citizens all the liberties 'quas habuerunt tempore Edwardi et Willelmi et Henrici regum Anglorum'." It is quite true that the words in this Lincoln charter "do not necessarily

imply that those kings had granted charters", but, besides words of this sort, Edward's charter contains something much more precise and decisive, immediately following the above. I will quote again the whole passage: "They shall have their liberties and quittances from henceforth, in the best, fullest, and most honourable manner that they and their predecessors have ever had in the times of the Kings of England, Edward, William I and II, King Henry our great-grandfather, and in the times of King Richard, and King John our grandfather, and of the Lord King Henry our father, *by the charters of these same Kings, as those charters, in possession of the Barons, and which we have seen, do reasonably testify.*" This is something more than implication; and I need not point out that the charters referred to are charters to the Confederation, not to separate Ports. That Edward the Confessor's charter may yet come to light, at least in the form of an exemplification, is the belief of a most competent authority, at present engaged upon those in the British Museum. That would set the question at rest.

As the above plain statement fitted in with everything else which presented itself in my researches, with the Yarmouth connection, the Court of Shepway, the Customals, the charters of Richard and John, the dates of Sheriffs' Courts and Itinerant Justices, the antiquity of the Coronation honours, and what was known of the condition of the Ports in those days, I accepted the charter of Edward the Confessor as a faithful landmark, and showed how the history of our early kings and their institutions appeared to coincide with the statement. If proof can be brought against the issue of such a charter, I shall be the first to recognise it. But I am sure Mr. Round will excuse me for saying that this theory of his, which would bring the act of Confederation down some way into the twelfth century, requires more support than he has given it.

MONTAGU BURROWS.

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.

WITH the present number concludes the fourth volume of the *Archæological Review*, and the second year of its existence. We trust we may be permitted to say with some pride that we have, even in this short space of time, fully justified our existence. Of the two main objects for which the *Review* was founded—the better organisation of archæological work, and the study of institutional archæology—we may claim to have advanced the one and established the other. Thanks in large measure to the attention drawn to the need in these columns, the local antiquarian societies have been organised and brought into closer connection with their *doyen*, the Society of Antiquaries. We have likewise done much towards bringing together the scattered notices relating to Roman Britain. More recently we have obtained from all parts of the country information as to the destruction of ancient monuments and records, which, there is reason to fear, is still proceeding, notwithstanding Sir John Lubbock's Act.

We may likewise boast to have established the claim of the study of institutions to be included among the other methods of reaching a knowledge of the past which are known collectively as archæology. That claim has been warmly disputed; the right of a journal dealing with such subjects to the title of "Archæological" has been called into question. But we think that the right will no longer be denied to the new method, judging from the acknowledged success with which it has been applied to the study of the past in these pages. The light which the study of institutions throws upon all sides of archæology, even upon Biblical archæology, has been abundantly displayed during our two years of existence. During the present year, in particular, we have given *résumés* of various branches of archæological study—Biblical archæology, Celtic mythology, numismatics, Greek archæology—in which stress has been as much laid on method as on material; and in each case the institutional method has been allowed its legitimate share among the instruments of antiquarian study. The method is one which Englishmen should be the first to recognise, since it has been discovered by English scholars like the late J. F. MacLennan

and Dr. E. B. Tylor, and been applied with conspicuous success by Englishmen almost exclusively.

Nowhere has the application of this method been more conspicuously light-giving than in the investigation of those curious relics of the past known collectively as Folk-lore. Apart from the light they give to and receive from the study of early institutions and beliefs, these quaint scraps would be nothing but mere curiosities of literature. But young as the study is from this point of view, the results already obtained are sufficient to encourage further work in this direction. We have, accordingly, not hesitated to give prominence in these pages to researches like those of Mr. Hartland, Dr. Karl Blind, and Mr. MacRitchie, which attempt to penetrate to the archaic beliefs or customs which underlie the *bizarrerries* of the Folk-tale.

Our success in this regard has determined us to adopt a new departure in a direction which has already been found to be most fruitful in beneficial results. Hitherto we have, in deference to the ordinary custom of archæological journals in this country, given a large space to articles dealing with purely monumental archæology, with facts rather than with principles, with antiquities rather than archæology in the true sense of the word. This kind of work, useful enough in its way, is more than sufficiently provided for by the ordinary archæological publications of this country.

By confining ourselves to the new lines of archæological research which we have opened up, we may be better enabled to win ready acceptance for its claims. We propose, therefore, to leave untouched henceforth the purely monumental side of archæology. The space thus gained will be devoted to a fuller record of publications dealing with the past in its institutional and folk-lore aspects. Our issue will be quarterly, beginning from March 1, 1890; each number will contain nearly double as many pages as the ordinary numbers of the *Archæological Review* have hitherto contained. Altogether, the year's volume will only be one-third less than hitherto. In recognition of this fact the yearly subscription is reduced to one-half.

The new departure has brought the *Archæological Review* on to lines which run parallel with much of the work that is being done by the Folk-lore Society, which has always regarded Folk-lore as of chief interest as a branch of institutional archæology. It seemed desirable to unite forces that are thus working for a common end, and overtures being favourably received, an arrangement has been come to by which the *Archæological Review* in its new issue will

become the official organ of the Folk-lore Society. In recognition of the change, a change of title has been adopted, and the *Review* will appear with a new name. A more exact estimate of its new features may be gathered from the following quotation from the recently issued Annual Report of the Folk-lore Society :

"A most important step has been taken with reference to the *Folklore Journal*. It was felt that in its present shape it did not sufficiently represent the scientific aims of the Society, and Mr. Nutt came forward with a proposal which the Council, after the most careful consideration, have accepted. It involves the issue of the *Journal* under a new title. It will be divided into sections, as follows :

"1. Original articles, whether collections of facts or expositions of theory.

"2. Reprints of English material, not easily accessible, and translations of little-read languages.

"3. A record of the progress of study in folklore, and in allied branches of science. This record will comprise :

(A) A bibliography of English and non-English books relating to folklore, mythology, archaic and savage institutions, mediæval romantic literature, archaic history, etc.

(B) Summaries of contents of folklore periodicals, and citation of articles of interest to the folklorist in general periodicals.

(C) Reports on well-defined sections of folklore, to be issued at stated times, briefly summing up the progress and results of study within each section during the interval from one report to another. Each section to be entrusted to a member of the Society, who will make himself responsible for the production of the report. The following sections are planned:

Comparative mythology.

Celtic and Teutonic myth and saga.

Institutions, (a) archaic, (b) savage.

Folklore in its more restricted use: (a) folk-tales and cognate subjects, (b) ballads and games, (c) folk-usages.

Prehistoric anthropology and archaic history.

Oriental and mediæval romantic literature.

"4. Tabulation of folk-tales and analysis of customs and superstitions."

REVIEWS.

SHORT NOTICES.

GRUNDRISS DER GERMANISCHEN PHILOLOGIE HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON HERM. PAUL. Vol. II, Part I, Section I, Division VII:
HELDENSAGE, von B. SYMONS. Division VIII: LITERATUR-
GESCHICHTE.—1. GOTISCHE LITERATUR, von E. SIEVERS;
2. NORDISCHE LITERATUR, (a) NORWEGISCH-ISLÄNDISCHE,
von E. MOGK. 8vo, pp. 1-128. (Strassburg: Trübner.)

I CAN only signal to the attention of all readers of the *Archæological Review* the appearance of a new part of this magnificent handbook to the language, literature, mythical, and heroic traditions of all the Teutonic races. The present section is of special interest to students of Teutonic tradition. The heroic sagas of the South Teutons must always be a chief source of our knowledge concerning the remote past of the Teutonic races, whilst a correct appreciation of the development of Icelandic literature as a whole is indispensable to a sound criticism of the Icelandic mythic poems.

I cannot hope to discuss fully on the present occasion Professor Symons' interesting views on Heroic Saga, views with which I am in general agreement, though I think him unduly narrow in the principles he lays down, and at times inconsistent in the application of those principles. I would, however, make one detailed criticism, bearing as it does upon an article of mine published in these pages, October 1888. Professor Symons, like the majority of German scholars, ignores all work done in this country. I cannot but think that my criticism of Professor Zimmer's crude theories concerning the influence of the Teutonic upon the Celtic heroic saga would have saved him from alluding to those theories as *proving* certain views with respect to the development of the Nibelung story. With the views themselves I have no quarrel, but I certainly think that in a handbook for students, hypotheses as tentative as those of Professor Zimmer should only be mentioned with a word of caution.

A. NUTT.

WOLFGANG GOLThER—"LOHENGRIN".

I OWE to Dr. Golther's kindness a copy of the offprint of his interesting article. He shows that the swan-knight legend has its roots in the pro-ethnic mythic period of the Aryans, when they worshipped, as highest deity, the Shining Heaven, *Tivaz*. Various epithets were applied to him; thus, *inter alia*, by the Teutons, *Ermnaz*, the Lofty One, *Istvaz*, the Flaming One, or *Ingvaz*, the Comer from Afar; epithets which later were regarded as names of separate gods from whom sections of the Teutonic race derived their descent; hence the *Ingaevones*, the *Herminones*, and the *Istaevones* of Tacitus.

As Lord of the wide expanse of Heaven, *Tivaz* is cloud compeller, *νεφεληγέτης*; early mythopoeic fancy figured the clouds as swans, hence *Tivaz* receives the epithet *Hohnijaz* (represented by the Scandinavian *Hönnir*), the swan-like. *Tivaz* seems to have been worshipped from the earliest times by the races living on the North Sea coasts, as *Ingvaz hohnijaz*, the Swan-like Stranger, testifying probably to early myths in which the origin of all culture was ascribed to the mysterious deity who came across the cloud sea in swan-guise.

The main features of this early myth are found in mediæval romantic literature, but only in a contaminated form. The Low Country folk-myth was seized by some ingenious poet and made to do duty as a glorified account of the origin of Godfrey of Bouillon, the leader of the first crusade. The likeness in sound between the words *signus* (the mark of the crusader) and *cygnus* (swan) may have given the hint.

The story thus formed was afterwards influenced by the folk-tale of the Seven Swans, with which it had originally nothing to do. The mediæval legend of the *chevalier au cygne* thus came into existence. All the mediæval versions of the swan-knight story are traceable to the French poem or poems which first present this legend; such differences as show themselves are literary differences, and do not testify to fresh contact with folk-tradition or to varying forms of the same. The most suggestive change in the conduct of this story was made by *Wolfram von Eschenbach*, when, improving upon a hint of his French original, he brought the swan-knight and Grail stories into close connection, and thus paved the way for the poet of *Lohengrin*, the latest, and in many respects the most interesting, member of the cycle.

Incidentally, Dr. Golther is led to examine whether *Wolfram von Eschenbach* had in the composition of his *Parzival* any other

model besides Chrestien de Troies. As readers of my *Grail-Studies* are aware, this is a question which has been vehemently discussed, and upon which I refrained from pronouncing, as the arguments *pro* and *con* impressed me as being of equal weight. Dr. Golther argues that Wolfram must have had the model, Guiot, whom he says he had, that Guiot wrote after Chrestien, and that he deliberately altered the early history of the Grail in order to introduce a fictitious ancestry *ad majorem gloriam* of the Angevin Princes. Dr. Golther's arguments are extremely acute, and I am greatly inclined to accept them. I would, however, urge this objection: the traces of the Early History of the Grail are of the very slightest kind in Chrestien, so that there was really no necessity for Guiot to motivate *his* Early History by the virulent attacks upon the earlier poet which are found throughout Wolfram, and which, as Dr. Golther points out, are unintelligible if addressed by a German translator to a French model, but readily accounted for if they are set down to the professional rivalry of two competing French poets.

One of the points which most interests me is Dr. Golther's insistence upon the influence exerted upon the Godfrey ancestral-legend (the earliest form of the story) by the Seven Swans folk-tale. I have so frequently found myself at variance with Dr. Golther in his views of mediæval romance that I am glad to find we are in this instance of one mind. When speaking of the *märchen* he might have gone farther. One of the most marked features of the legend is the taboo laid upon the wife to refrain from inquiry respecting the mysterious husband's origin. This almost looks as if, as in countless folk-tales, the swan-guise was the result of bespelling, broken by the love of the wife, but entering into fresh force when she infringes the taboo, the observance of which is essential to the human existence of the bespelled hero. I commend this suggestion to Dr. Golther's notice.

A. NUTT.

SIXTY FOLK-TALES FROM EXCLUSIVELY SLAVONIC SOURCES.

Translated, with brief Introduction and Notes, by A. H. WRATISLAW. Crown 8vo., xii, 315 pp. (London: Elliot Stock.)

THIS work is a welcome addition to the folk-lorist's library, especially for such students as are unacquainted with German, and to whom the numerous publications of Dr. Veckenstedt for

the Western and Dr. Krauss for the Southern Slavs are therefore a sealed book. Mr. Wratishlaw's versions read pleasantly, and the translation has received Mr. Morfill's approval, so that it may be accepted as faithful and scholarly. Mr. Wratishlaw's editorial work is slight and meagre, and what might easily have become an epoch-making work in the study of storyology, remains a useful collection of materials, a charming story-book, but nothing more.

As Mr. Wratishlaw says in his preface, the present volume is an Englishing of Erben's pan-Slavonic reading-book. Erben of course grouped examples of the same dialect together. The translator has done the same, and we have in consequence close variants of the same theme separated from each other by the whole breadth of the book. Some scientific classification should have been adopted for the stories, and variants of one theme should have been arranged either geographically (from north to south or from east to west) or chronologically, according to the age and greater or less elaboration of the literature to which they belong. A ready means would thus have been afforded of testing certain developments of the borrowing theory.

Mr. Wratishlaw repeatedly re-echoes the complaint of Slavonic scholars that Grimm and other Germans have enriched the Teutonic folk-store at the expense of the Slavonic. Such complaints betray ignorance of the points really at issue. Speaking with some confidence, I doubt whether the *märchen*-store of any European race contains as much as ten per cent. of elements peculiar to itself; if to *märchen* we add heroic and mythic sagas we may get, as in the case of Celts and Lithuanians, as much as twenty-five or thirty per cent. of special elements, but in no case, I fancy, more. And until Slavonic tales have been more rigorously classified and analysed than has hitherto been the case, it is premature to talk of special elements in Slavonic folk-tales.

The Serbian tales from Carniola have a special character of their own. They are origin- and culture-myths rather than *märchen*. As such they are worthy the closest attention. But I must frankly say that I can only look upon them with the utmost suspicion. In tone and incident they impress me as being modern forgeries. Mr. Wratishlaw appeals to the authority of Professor Krek, of Graz, who has written an essay on the chief personage in these tales, *Kurent*. If Mr. Wratishlaw will translate Professor Krek's essay, the *Archæological Review* will gladly print his translation; but until further evidence is forthcoming respecting the authenticity

and age of the beliefs revealed by these tales, I can only recommend that they should be used with the utmost caution.

Mr. Wratislaw is a partisan of the mythic system of *märchen*-interpretation. The system is an unfashionable one at present, and it is refreshing to find it applied as unhesitatingly as is here the case. It is destined to furnish a larger element to the final solution of the folk-tale problem than many scholars are now willing to allow, and it is an advantage to have it championed with the ingenuity shown by Mr. Wratislaw.

A. NUTT.

DIE HOCHZEITSBRÄUCHE DER ESTEN UND EINIGER ANDERER FINNISCH-UGRISCHER VÖLKERSCHAFTEN IN VERGLEICHUNG MIT DENEN DER INDOGERMANISCHEN VÖLKER. Von Dr. LEOPOLD VON SCHRÖDER. (Berlin: A. Asher, 1888, 269 pp., 8vo.)

NO section of folk-lore presents greater difficulty, and is consequently less studied, than that of usages and customs of popular life in general. When, therefore, a book that has the history of popular manners—*Ethologie*, as the Germans say—for its object makes its appearance, we deem it our duty to call to it the attention of those readers who take an interest in such researches. We do this the more readily, as the book now under consideration is a solid contribution to the study of folk-manners, and thus deserves commendation. It was published about a year ago by Dr. Leopold von Schröder, *privat-docent* at the University of Dorpat, in Esthland.

Old marriage customs are, as it appears from his book, better preserved in Esthland and among Ougro-Finnish peoples than among the western nations of Europe. Such a fact need cause no surprise, on account of the more advanced state of civilisation of the latter. Dr. Schröder makes the present day marriage customs in Esthland the basis of his inquiry, but he does not confine himself to them. He includes ancient customs, and then proceeds to draw a parallel between such customs and those of the Indo-Germanic. The customs of the peoples thus compared are more especially those of the Esths, Lapps, Finns, and Mordvins on the one hand, and those of the ancient Germans, Greeks, Romans, and Hindus on the other. In this investigation, besides the special works relating to the Esths and kindred peoples, the learned author avails himself of the researches of Reinsberg (*Hochzeitsbuch*) and

Rosbach (*Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, 1876). Schröder's purpose in entering upon this investigation was, by a comparison of the manners of the two races, to show how untenable is the opinion of such scholars as accept a common origin of both. The author, while denying the main point of a common origin, admits that the Indo-Germanic race, especially the Teutonic tribes, Goths and Scandinavians, exercised a great influence on the Ougro-Finns, particularly during the historical period. This question does not fall within our province at present, and we simply mention it. With regard to marriage customs, we willingly accord the author all the praise he deserves for the clear and truly scientific manner in which he elucidates all that refers to marriage. He very distinctly shows that primitive marriage consisted in the carrying off of the bride by force. Many customs or ceremonies, which are followed without any apparent reason, not only in the author's country but also in more civilised society, plainly point to the primitive mode of marriage by capture. Though marriage, and much that is connected with it, acquired a new character, as a consequence of the softening of human manners, the customs that accompanied primitive marriage have not been forgotten, but survived; not understood at the present day, it is true, and often carried through in jest or as a piece of boisterous sport. The student of classic and Teutonic life often meets with facts that show the great importance attached to marriage rites, as well as with facts which can receive no satisfactory explanation except through the custom of marriage by capture; for instance, the rape of the Sabine women, the meaning of the Latin term *nubere*, the purchasing of the bride, a practice common among Eastern nations, Greeks, Romans, and all the Teutonic tribes. Many Western survivals of marriage customs which are rendered intelligible by this book might be enumerated, but the limits which a review always ought to observe will not permit such a thing, however desirable. A marked deficiency of the book is a short account of the primitive family. Such an account would have enabled the author to explain, together with the passage from matriarchal to patriarchal family, the origin of the abduction of the bride, and of the dower, which was given not as the price of the bride, but as an expiatory offering made by the abductor or offender to the tribe or family injured in its interests by the carrying off of one of its members. It is further to be regretted that Dr. Schröder did not turn his attention to the marriage customs among primitive and savage tribes, and include them in his investigation. In many cases savage life throws light

upon civilised life, as appears, on the question that occupies us, from the book lately published by Professor Dr. G. A. Wilken, of Leiden, about the marriage customs in the Indian Archipelago.

AUG. GITTÉE.

THE VIKING AGE: The Early History, Manners, and Customs of the Ancestors of the English-speaking Nations, illustrated from the Antiquities discovered in Mounds, Caverns, and Bogs, as well as from the Ancient Sagas and Eddas. By PAUL B. DU CHAILLU. (London: John Murray, 1889. 2 vols.)

WE have certain objections to make to Mr. Du Chaillu's volumes; we do not subscribe to his theory, and we do not altogether agree with his arrangement of the magnificent material he has brought together; but let us say at once that he brings into singular prominence one of the principles upon which this *Review* was started, namely, that manners and customs may be illustrated by monumental archæology, and that monumental archæology may be illustrated by the traditions and the myths of bygone ages. Mr. Du Chaillu has lived in the lands upon whose antiquities he writes, and he has drunk in from the people themselves the traditional reverence for sagas and myths. Thus it is that his book comes to us quite fresh from the archæologist's proper workshop—the mounds and the stone circles, the tumuli and dolmens, the excavations and the museums. Nothing can be more valuable than such a magnificent storehouse of illustrated objects from the buried treasure of bygone ages in Scandinavia, and the enormous labour which these volumes indicate is only a measure of the debt we owe both to Mr. Du Chaillu and to his publisher.

We wish Mr. Du Chaillu had been more precise in his terminology. When he talks of civilisation it is advisable that we know exactly what is meant by this wide term. That there was civilisation of a sort, no one reading this work can for a moment doubt; but, then, it does not all belong to one period, and it is not all of one degree. The saga that mentions the exposure of female children and the nurture of male children treads very closely on the practices of savage races, and approaches the savage stage of culture rather than what we understand by civilisation, and yet it is dated the x-xith century. There was great wealth in the North, marvellous ebullition of physical power, a rude, dashing kind of splendour, splendid capacity for warfare, but all this does not make up civilisation; and if we seek for the term that best correlates the

state of things which Mr. Du Chaillu calls the Viking Age, we cannot get beyond that of rude barbarism. That the barbarism is attractive and glowing as well as rude, we readily admit; but these characteristics must not blind us to the importance of using terms in matters of man's history which have been settled not by our fancy or our imagination, but by scientific study.

Perhaps we have said enough on this side of Mr. Du Chaillu's work. It places at our disposal so much new material for thought and study that we are anxious not to appear ungrateful even in criticising it from a high standard; and after all, perhaps, Mr. Du Chaillu may reply, that a people who could formulate rules of conduct like the following could not be even rudely barbarous:—

“The ale of men's sons
Is not so good
As men say it is;
For the more
A man drinks
The less has he his senses;”

but it has to be compared, first, with the actual drinking practices of the people, and secondly, with the proverbial utterances of, say, such barbarous people as the Malagasy, before one can properly gauge its true importance as evidence of culture.

“Better burthen
A man carries not on the road
Than great good sense;
No worse journey-provisions
Weigh him to the ground
Than too much ale-drinking;”

or again—

“An unwise man
Is awake all night
Worrying about everything
He is weary;
When the morning comes
All the woe is as it was;”

or, perhaps best of all—

“Cattle die,
Kinsmen die,
One's self die too,
But the fame never dies
Of him who gets a good name.”

Mr. Du Chaillu devotes three chapters to describing finds which illustrate the stone, bronze, and early iron ages. The gallery or

passage graves are very admirably figured, and will form a welcome addition to what is already known of these structures from Nilsson and other authorities.

The oak coffins Mr. Du Chaillu classes as amongst the bronze-age finds, and certainly the most interesting objects were obtained from Treenhöi in Jutland. Articles of dress, consisting of two bands of a cap, a woollen shawl, a coarse woollen shawl, and a woollen skirt held by a striped band, were discovered in a most remarkable state of preservation, kept from decay, no doubt, by the tannin in the oak. These are the earliest perfect garments known, and even the latest period to which they belong, says Mr. Du Chaillu, cannot be far from three thousand years ago, and they may be of much earlier date. All these garments are figured, and it is possible thus to restore the every-day appearance of the people. A woman's skirt and bodice of wool was found in North Jutland, with bronze ornaments, and a bronze poniard, with horn handle, by the side of the body, which had been wrapped in a deer-skin ; this also is figured.

Passing on to the iron age, the objects described and figured are exceedingly numerous and of great interest. The bog finds are particularly important, and throw very considerable additional light on the life of the people. We can see how they were dressed, and we can learn about their riding equipment, their agricultural implements, cooking utensils, household vessels, waggons, tools, and offensive and defensive weapons. Many of the objects appear to be of Greek and Roman origin ; and Roman coins are found. As we pass from page to page of Mr. Du Chaillu's illustrations, many of the purposes of a museum are brought vividly before us, and it is almost ungrateful to note that some objects are not figured, as, for instance, agricultural implements.

What the connection was between the stone-age man and the bronze-age man, and the iron-age man of the land of the Vikings, Mr. Du Chaillu does not tell us ; but we imagine him to believe that they are but progressive developments of culture of one great race. We must confess we do not share this view. In the North, as in most other Aryan lands, there were slave classes, and these slave classes have to be accounted for historically and economically. They were the people who

"Laid fences,
Enriched the plough lands,
Tended swine,
Herded goats,
Dug peat ;"

and there are other traces of their condition which it is well to note. First, there appears to be female heirship recognised in cases of the slave-father or the slave-mother; thus, the child of a free-woman by a thrall was free, belonging to the family of the mother; and the child of a thrall-woman by a freeman was a slave belonging to the master of the mother. Then there are many signs in the saga that difference of race indicated the condition of the serf. When Skirnir comes to ask Gerd in marriage for his master Frey, in the *Skirnismál* saga, he thus speaks of himself:

"I am not of Alfár,
Nor of Asa-sons,
Nor of the wise Vanir;"

and such evidence should be compared with the significant allusion to a dark people contained in the *Ynglinga* saga of the thirteenth century: "There are also many kinds of people and many tongues; there are Asar, Dvergar and Blamenn (blue [black] men), and many kinds of strange people." These may be compared further with the interesting record of superstitions and sacrifices with which Mr. Du Chaillu has enriched his volumes, particularly that important class of guardian spirits called *Landvæltir*, who were subordinate to the guardian gods of each country, and were closely connected with the land, liking especially to dwell on mountains.

The fact is, such a work as this can be studied from so many points of view that it is useless to attempt more on the present occasion than some account of its chief features. Mr. Du Chaillu has himself seen nearly all the objects or graves illustrated in the book, with the exception of a few Runic stones which have disappeared, and these number in all nearly fourteen hundred. To study it as it deserves, however, we must have a good index, and this at present it does not possess. A really scientific index to such a book would increase its value doubly to the student; and we think that all possessors of the volumes would gladly subscribe to such a work. It would answer the same purpose as a catalogue to a museum, and be somewhat more than this too, because it would indicate how much there is in the old saga records, and in the monuments which illustrate them, which have yet to yield whole chapters of history, not only to the Viking history of the North, but to the history of the progress of man from the savage to the civilised stage of culture.

G. L. GOMME.

THE TOWER: A SERIES OF ETCHINGS WITH VIGNETTES AND
DESCRIPTIVE LETTERPRESS. By C. R. B. BARRETT, M.A.
Folio. (Catty and Dobson.)

ENDOWED with antiquarian taste and a love for archæological study, Mr. Barrett has done well to turn his powers to account in these views of the Tower of London, the stronghold, so long formidable, of our ancient city; "The Tower" *par excellence*, just as Moscow's Kremlin is so pre-eminently *the* Kremlin that we are generally ignorant of any other. As an artist he is naturally disposed to look first at the picturesque, but it goes without saying that the artist with some knowledge of architectural and historic details sees his buildings with very different eyes from the man who draws simply with a view to effect. In this volume we have some thirteen etchings, several of which represent views little known, portions of the buildings to which the public rarely, if ever, gain admission, and only read of in the pages of romance or history. In the "Tower from the River", which leads off the series, we get the familiar square building with its attendant group of curtain walls and towers, fairly detached from the ordinary buildings; though we wonder that artistic feeling did not prompt the suppression of the hideous factory chimney behind, which has no part with the fortress or its associations, unless it be to suggest, by way of contrast, how moderns are imprisoned. "The White Tower" appears again in another plate, taken from the south-east; while the insertion of a vignette sketch from the fine drawing of the Tower buildings in a fifteenth century MS. in the British Museum gives the opportunity of comparison with both, most of the points in the latter being identified. One of the most interesting, as well as best executed, of the plates is "The Postern", with its curiously wicketed oaken gates, "formerly used for State traffic by water", which Mr. Barrett states to be the most perfect of its kind in England. Of the famous "Traitor's Gate", with its sixty-feet-wide arch, we get the inner view, as well as the more familiar sketch from the Tower Wharf; and its companion, the "Gateway of the Bloody Tower" (anciently the Garden Tower), a somewhat difficult subject, in which the drawing is injured by the use of too much broken light. A vignette here reminds us that the little Oratory in the Wakefield Tower disputes the claim with the Bloody Tower of being the scene of the murder of the two little princes, the dismal and terribly suggestive dungeons of that tower being the subject of the next

plate and well-drawn vignette. There is, of course, also a sketch of the staircase in the White Tower, where the children's bones were found in 1674.

Two of the most noteworthy sections in the book deal with torture and dungeon-cells in the White and Beauchamp Towers. "Little Ease", the cell wherein Guy Fawkes is said to have been thrust, shows the refinement of cruelty, its wretched occupant not having space to lie down in. The crooked passages and cells of the Beauchamp Tower are well indicated, while one of its larger prison chambers is the subject of an etching. A door-way out of this tower led on to the parapet where the Princess Elizabeth used to take exercise when confined in the adjacent Bell Tower, a tower which is also darkly memorable for the cruel captivity of the brave and venerable Bishop Fisher. We gain a view of this tower from "Queen Elizabeth's Walk", an interesting etching, in which the brick wall and chimneys on the left are most trying to the artist's powers.

Mr. Barrett's letterpress does not of course profess to give full historical details, but he provides in a pleasant way out of various reading a good deal of illustrative matter. Much care has been bestowed upon the vignettes, which are not the least charming part of the work; and the State axe, sign of the last doom to the unfortunates before whom it was carried, adorns the sanguinary-looking cover. It would have added much to the comfort of the reader if the sketch-map of the Tower enclosure and buildings had been added, and we certainly think the publishers have done ill to provide no table of contents or index—one or the other is indispensable to the utility of every work of the sort; but these omissions do not affect the drawings, and we believe this will be found one among the best gift-books of the season.

L. T. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE LONG HUNDRED.

IN regard to Mr. Stevenson's paper, *ante*, page 313, I wish to say that I never said that "wara" means the idle shift, but that an acre of wara meant an acre of land with a part sown, and therefore taxed, and a part unsown, and therefore untaxed—"quia jacet in communi et valet nil."

I never said that "wara was equivalent to the Low Latin warectum", but I ventured to offer "wara" as the parent of the expression "ad warectum", *i.e.*, "wara acta", or the Common Fields worked (see Cambridge Antiquarian Society's *Communications*, vol. vi, p. 34). As regards the meaning of the word *wara* I have no doubt it has no relation to defence or enclosure, as Mr. Stevenson supposes, or to the word *wár* or *wárian* (to defend), but the word *wara* (without the accent) means of and belonging to the inhabitants; see Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary*, edit. 1881, p. 245, *s. voc.* "Wara of inhabitants", genitive plural of *waru*, not defence, but "a collective noun in the s. denoting the city or town authority or corporation, the city, town, or country, that is, the inhabitants of a town, city, or country, as a body"; see Bosworth, same page. Wara, therefore, if Bosworth is right, means anything belonging to or held in common by the inhabitants of a certain place or manor, and if applied to land it would mean neither more nor less than "the Common Fields", the fields *jacentes in communi* of such a manor. And this is the simple solution: if (when the land was *originally set out*) an acre of wara (*i.e.*, of the common fields) was given to a man in a two-course shift, at the time of the allotment he would have an acre in each of two fields; if the three-course shift was in vogue he would have three, *i.e.*, one in each of three fields. Such an allotment *in area* would never change, though in case of an *original* allotment, say a virgate or plena terra of twelve acres in each of two fields, when the whole area was rearranged in three fields instead of two, the same man who originally held twelve acres in each of two fields would then hold eight acres in each of three fields, though he would not thereby increase or change the place of his holding, and though his manorial records might still speak of his holding as twelve acres of wara. This was expressly the case at Wilburton, referred to by Mr. Stevenson, and quoted by him triumphantly as a discrepancy; see Stevenson, p. 326, and *note* to it. In the year 975 the manor was in a two-shift, but before Domesday, as well as in the year 1277, it was in a three-course shift, but the area was not changed, though in 975 only one-half would be sown and be taxed, while in Domesday, as well as in the year 1277, two-thirds would be sown and taxed; in other words, in the year 975 the holding would be 12 sown + 12

fallow = 24; at the time of Domesday, as well as in the year 1277, it would be 16 sown + 8 fallow = 24. The shift from the two-course to the three-course without altering the area of the separate holdings would be easy enough, when we remember that the land was held *dispersim* in roods and acres, interspersed among each other. Luckily, since I wrote my papers, I have found an entry in the Court Rolls of the manor of Winston, in Suffolk, which seems to put the matter beyond doubt, and which I would have sent to Mr. Stevenson, though a stranger to me, if I had known he was about to commit himself and write on the subject. The Roll is in the muniment-room of the Dean and Chapter of Ely, where Mr. Round or Mr. Stevenson, I have no doubt, would gladly be permitted to see it. The entry is as follows:—

“Wynston—Curia ibidem tenta die martis in crastino sanctæ Katherinæ Anno regni regis Edwardi (tertii) post conquestum quinto.

“Rogerus Langhawe qui tenuit de domino unum messuagium et quatuor acras wara terræ quæ se extendunt ad xii acras mensuras per perticam xvi pedum et dimidiæ in villenagio diem suum nuper clausit extremum,” etc.

In regard to this Roll, I merely remark that at Winston there were three “common fields” or wara fields, and that a man holding four acres in each would hold twelve acres in area, *i.e.*, four acres of wara; also, that I can conceive no expression less like indicating an enclosure defended by a fence or area altered on account of value than four acres—“se extendentes ad 12 acras”—or more like indicating a lot of strips spread over three fields.

I come now to Mr. Stevenson’s remarks as to the *Anglicus numerus*, or, as the witty printer called it, the Angelic number. Mr. Stevenson says: “It clearly depends upon the fact that the Anglo-Saxons called 120 a hundred, and upon the assumption that they divided this 120 into 100 parts, and that 1 meant $1\frac{1}{5}$. This is as much as to say that, because we call 112 lbs. a hundredweight we call 56 lbs. fifty, and so on, and that the reduction of the sixth by the King’s officers was due to reduction in value and not in acreage,” which the Hundred Rolls says expressly it is. Mr. Stevenson also says that “Mr. Pell’s only other evidence is that the compiler of the *Liber Eliensis* states that Æthelwold bought twelve hides from Leofric, and that the King’s Charter mentions only ten hides. It never seems to have occurred to Mr. Pell that the land bought about A.D. 970 as 10 hides, might in 1105 or so, owing to extended cultivation, represent 12 hides. But even if this instance were stronger than it is, it would not be strong enough to prove that the English ever called 12 ten. All the fanciful calculations that Mr. Pell has based upon this assumption, including even his delicious *Ready Reckoner*, p. 258, may therefore be safely left to slumber in oblivion by the Domesday student who does not wish to waste his time.”

Now as to Mr. Stevenson’s remark, that this is as much as to say that because we call 112 lbs. a hundredweight we call 56 lbs. a fifty-pound weight: I say certainly, if 112 lbs. is a 100, 56, or the half-hundred, must be 50; see Robertson, p. 27.

Mr. Stevenson must pardon me, I do not say that the Anglo-Saxons called the 120 a hundred. What I did say was that the hundred, or 120, was reached by shrinking in favour of the Angli 144 to 120 (see page 352 of *Pell I*). I never did say that the King's officers took anything off the hundred of 120, but they certainly did off the 144, viz., a sixth, not for value, as Mr. Stevenson says. Certainly it is true, by expanding the 100 to 120 you get the same result, yet it must be a result which is rather awkward for Mr. Stevenson's theories about values.

I never said, either, that the 1 (one) of the Anglo-Saxons meant $1\frac{1}{3}$, their 1 always meant one; but it means also, and equalled, $1\frac{1}{3}$ of the Norman and our counting. Nothing could be plainer than that it is so than in the Shelford entry, where "tenet" $7\frac{1}{2}$ in the Hundred Rolls for taxation represents the area of 9 Norman numeration in the contemporaneous survey. Mr. Stevenson only repeats what I have insisted on, viz., that the King's officers took $\frac{1}{6}$ off the area, not the value, of 144, and, of course, if nine was really worth £30, the $7\frac{1}{2}$ would only be taxed at £25; but how does that affect the question? There are several of the like cases as this in Domesday Book (see *Pell I*, p. 353 *et seq.*). Take the case of Ellingtune, at page 357 of *Pell I*. The *Ramsey Chartulary* says that 6 areal virgates of 24 in the place made the areal hide. The Hundred Roll, however, says 5 of 24, thus reducing 6 to 5, instead of reducing the 9 to $7\frac{1}{2}$, or the 18 to 15, or the 24 to 20, or the 144 to 120. This reduction of 144 to 120 began long before Domesday, and the surplusage of $\frac{1}{3}$ is in one place called *super hidam*. I call it, as does the Domesday of St. Paul, *extra hidam*. The passage I allude to is at page 129 of Stewart's *Historia Eliensis*; there had been a dispute about some land, so they took to a measuring thus described: "Mane itaque facto huic et inde quam plures videlicet de hominibus Abbatis et de hominibus mulieris. Qui primum circumeuntes mensi sunt terram quæ absque calumpnia erat et non invenerunt de terra quæ mulieris jure fuisset nisi unam *hydam* per sexies xx acras et super *hydam* xxiiii acras." So this 144 acres would only pass for one *integra hyda*, and would have nothing to do with valuation, and the 120 of the 144 would be the *hid mæl*, and the 24 the *æcer mæl*.

I do not know what Mr. Stevenson means about Æthelwold and the King's (Edgar's) Charter; it certainly never struck me that Edgar or Æthelwold lived in 1105; but the fact is, that what Æthelwold bought shortly before (see Stewart's *Historia Eliensis*, p. 116) as 12 *hydas* is immediately after, in Edgar's contemporaneous charter, called 10 *cassatos*, and to such charter is a terrier in Anglo-Saxon, which speaks of it as lying *hid mælum* and *æcer mælum*, the acre portion being no doubt the 24 acres *extra hydam* attached to the *hid mæl*, i.e., to each hide of 120. Mr. Stevenson says: "But even if this instance were stronger than it is it would not be strong enough to prove that the English ever called 12 ten." Be it so. I never said they did, but they did call their ten, ten, which equalled the Norman twelve.

Mr. Stevenson then proceeds to suggest that the expression "‘duas hidas duodecies xx acrarum arabilium’ means only two hides each of 120. But this entry has to be made to fit in with other figures previously determined upon, in an equally reckless manner, by Mr. Pell, and so the 240 acres are transmuted into 576 ! (That is, Mr. Pell evolves a total of 864, as nearly as possible, from the Survey of 1277, whereas the figures given in his original paper only show, when reckoned at their ordinary value, a total of 596 acres 3 roods, or, accepting Mr. Pell’s estimate of the cotters’ lands and of Penny Croft, 608½ acres and 3 roods.) To reach this result, he coolly reads the passage as meaning two hides *each* of 240 acres, making 480. It should be pretty clear to anyone that these hides of 120 acres are hides by the great hundred, or ‘hund-twelftig’. But not so with Mr. Pell. He says the imaginary hide of 240 acres is reckoned *Anglico numero*, and he accordingly, on his theory that one means 1½, increases it to 288 acres. And so these houses of cards are built."

In regard to this, and to Mr. Stevenson’s reading the area of Wilburton as if they were not hides of *wara*, but only of their ordinary value, I have only to refer him to Mr. Maitland’s letter at p. 391, *ante*; if he will not believe what he says, that 12 acres of *wara* appears on the Court Rolls of Wilburton as 24 acres in extent, I cannot help him, and he must equally disbelieve the Winstone case of 4 acres of *wara* meaning there 12 acres; but I will say this, that in every manor adjoining Wilburton the villains’ hides are all hides of *wara*, that is, 240 acres (whatever that may mean) in extent, and that in the manor of Snailwell, which is close to Wilburton, though it does not actually adjoin it, the hide there is actually stated in Stewart’s *Historia Eliensis*, p. 149, thus: "Coram his ergo testibus dedit Abbas Æthelstano pro sua parti de Eil unum prædium et unam hydam de duo decies xx acris"; and I do know, and always have known, that the villains’ hides in every manor adjoining Wilburton are hides of *wara*, and that the expression, "duas hidas duodecies xx acrarum arabilium", applied to each of them, does not mean 2 hides of 120, but two hides each of 240, and the xx or xxiv (*à la* the Venerable) will bring the sum total to 2 hides of 288 each; that is, 240 with an *acer mæl* of 48. At Wilburton the 10 acrae of *Inq. Eli* is, in the Survey of 1277, 12 acrae *de wara*, which in the Contemporaneous Court Rolls is "24 acrae *in communibus campis*", so all follows as in the "*delicious*" Ready Reckoner, *ante*, p. 258. See also *Domesday Book*, vol. i, p. 198a, col. 1; p. 242b, xxii; and p. 243b, Worces., col. 2. Also Robertson’s *Historical Essays*, pp. 23, 27, 83.

O. C. PELL.

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